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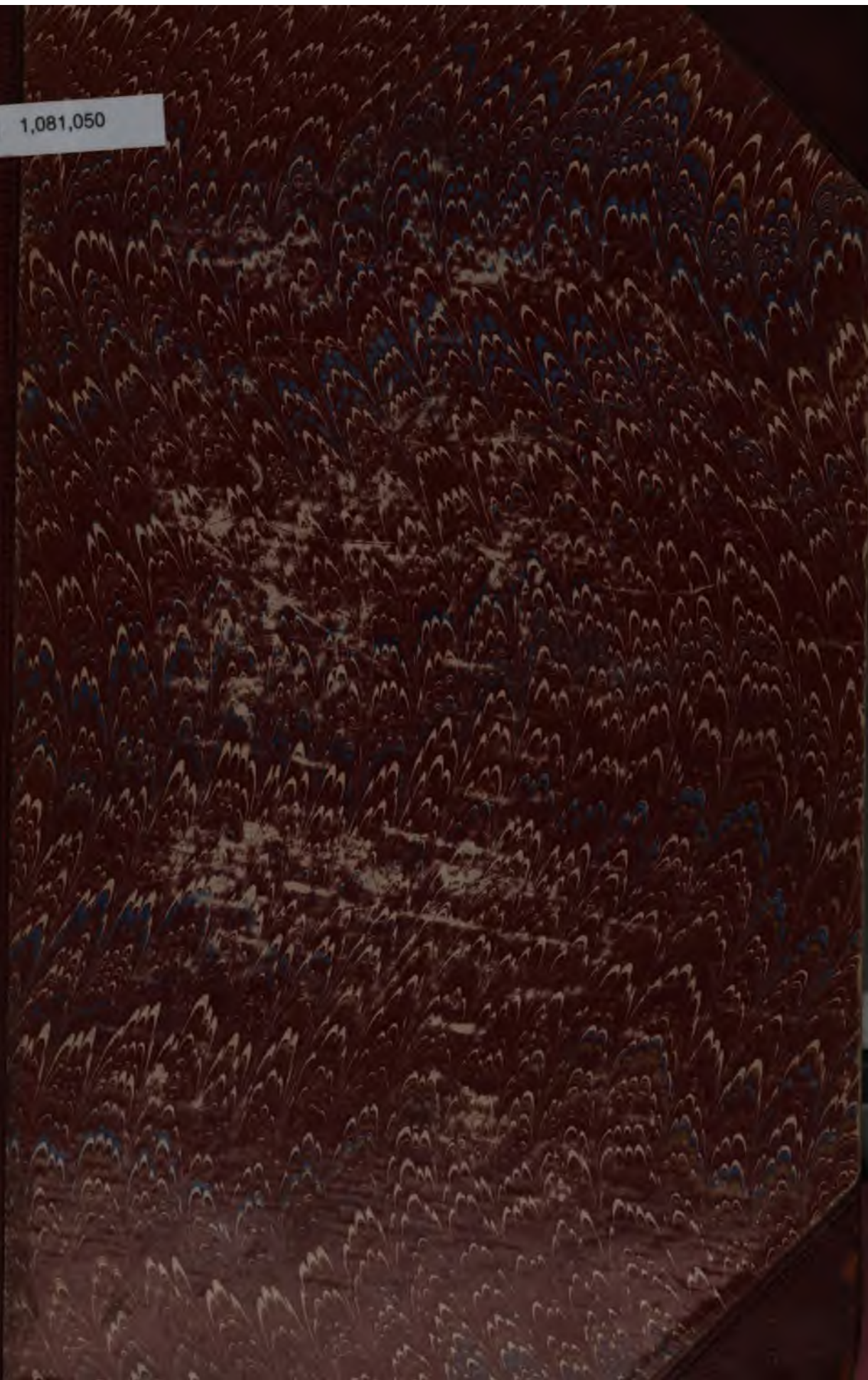
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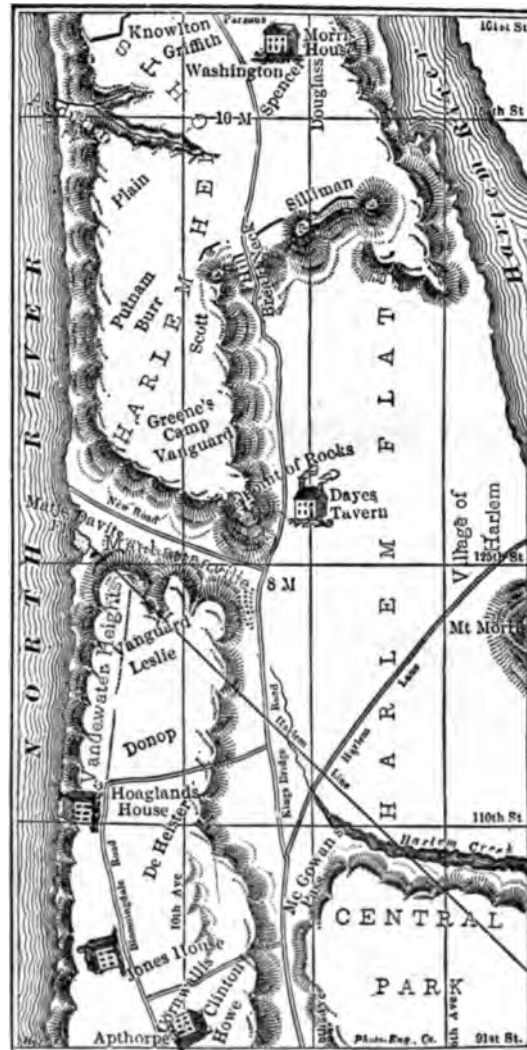
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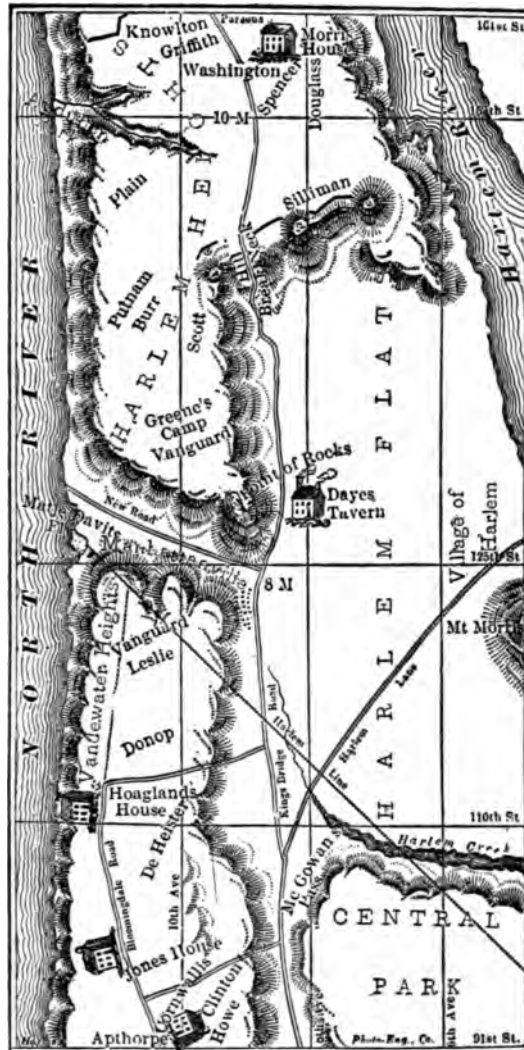
VOL. V

JANUARY—JUNE, 1907

WILLIAM ABBATT
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SKETCH OF BATTLEFIELD, HARLEM HEIGHTS



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THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

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No. I

CONTENTS

THE KEARSARGE-ALABAMA BATTLE	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE KEARSARGE AND THE ALA- BAMA REAR ADMIRAL JOSEPH A. SMITH, U. S. N.	1
THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS AGAIN:	
I—REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON, EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL . .	27
II—DR. EMMET'S REJOINDER	36
LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLIN- TON	40
(First Series)	
INDIAN TORTURE-POST IN INDIANA	
ISAAC CARTWRIGHT, GEORGE W. EDDY, SAMUEL CECIL	50
EARTHQUAKES IN NEW ENGLAND	54
THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE: Chapter XX. JAMES K. PAULDING	58

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THE KEARSARGE-ALABAMA FIGHT.

From original painting by Xanthus Smith. By permission of the Union League, Philadelphia.

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. V

JANUARY, 1907

No. 1

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE *KEARSARGE* AND THE *ALABAMA*

[Of all the officers aboard the *Kearsarge* on the historic day when she sank the *Alabama*, but one remains alive—the present Rear-Admiral Joseph Adams Smith. By his permission we print the valuable address which he delivered in January, 1906, before the Union League of Philadelphia—the occasion being the presentation to the institution of the painting by Xanthus Smith (himself a Union sailor during the Rebellion) representing the fight. By permission of the League we are also enabled to reproduce the engraving made of the painting, as our frontispiece.—Ed.]

HISTORICAL details of naval warfare are often meagre and unsatisfactory, while the prowess of the soldier is sung in the songs of the street, and elaborately rehearsed in story the whole civilized world over.

During our great Rebellion, the press correspondent, with characteristic sagacity, more frequently preferred the camp-fires of the soldier, the comforts of a farmhouse near the army headquarters, or the gentle lope of a cavalry horse to the less attractive fascinations of life on the ocean wave. The news reporter sketched with masterly stroke the minutest features of army life, and our orator soldiers have illumined the history of our army with a splendor of diction equalled only by the matchless skill displayed in achieving their triumphs.

In the rehearsal of this scrap of naval history you will not be blinded by the sweet smoke of rhetoric, your imagination will not be stirred by glowing descriptions of armies marching in splendid array to the shock of battle, you will not see the rush of cavalry into the "jaws of hell," as at Balaklava, nor earth mines yawning beneath the feet of regiments, as at Petersburg.

The story of the *Kearsarge* is short and simple, but the circumstances and conditions under which her battle with the *Alabama* was fought, and

the effect of the resulting victory upon European sentiment involve more extended consideration.

Apart from a rapid review of some of these conditions, your attention will be invited to nothing more thrilling than the recital of the more important incidents which occurred during a three years' cruise of one hundred and sixty-two American tars and their ship, over different portions of the globe, from the frozen shores of Maine, amid furious gales which threatened destruction, to Madeira, with her vine-clad steepes and blossoming vales; to Cadiz, whose ancient origin antedates the birth of history; to the Bay of Gibraltar, whose rocky defences have become a synonym for impregnability; to the Canaries, whose glorious peak of Teneriffe rises through the heat of perpetual summer to regions of perpetual snow; to the lake-like harbor of Ferrol, where the old naval kingdom of Spain was building her first iron-clads under the supervision of an American engineer; to the extensive French naval station of Brest, first established by Richelieu, with its spacious and beautiful harbor; to Flushing, Dover, Calais, Boulogne, London, and other ports on either side of the Channel, including Cherbourg, where the notorious corsair was shot to death; then through the calm seas of the tropics to the West India Isles; and finally back again once more, rewarded by a great nation's plaudits, to the rock-bound coast of New England.

The conditions and experiences of the soldier and sailor, during active service, are as dissimilar as are their methods of warfare.

One day the soldier builds a fort or bridges a stream, the next he wins a battle or retreats before a victorious foe. Now he lives on the fat of the land, then he faints with hunger and thirst; at times he sleeps beneath the clear blue vault of the heavens, and again the chilling storm beats pitilessly on his jaded form stretched on the bare ground beside his rusting musket, his slumbers disturbed by fitful dreams of the struggle on the contested field, where lie "rider and horse, friend, foe, in one red burial blent."

The sailor's life is less varied. He swings nightly from the same peg. His dreams are seldom disturbed even by the recollection of his sins. His ship is his horse, his kitchen, his ambulance, his fortress, his hospital, and his battle-field. He knows every inch of his stamping-ground. He treads it daily, in calm and in storm, in dance and in song, amid the terrors of battle and the solemn burial of his dead comrades.

As the morning light breaks, the shrill notes of the boatswain's whistle call the man-o'-war's man to duty. At this signal he rises from his slumbers, ties up his hammock in a mummy-like roll, and stows it away in the nettings. Coffee rouses his still sluggish senses to the daily routine of scrubbing and drills.

The enemy that most frequently disturbs the even tenor of the sailor's life comes without a declaration of war. It is the storm-king when he rushes forth with lowering brow, bellowing thunder, hurling his lightning bolts and lashing the ocean to terrific fury. Sleep is banished by the monster's dread roar. The sailor rolls into his hammock and out of it, he rolls his coffee, soup, and biscuit down his throat, and indeed, he rolls in ceaseless motion and discomfort during the entire reign of the storm-king.

The conflict between the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama* may be regarded as the first open sea fight between vessels of equal size and nearly equal armament, under steam propulsion, and with what was then modern ordnance.

At that time development in the art of building war-vessels was in full progress. England had shortly before completed four great iron-clad vessels of the *Warrior* and *Black Prince* type. They had four and one-half inches of steel armor, were of 9000 tons burthen, and were armed with four ten-ton guns, and 28 six and one-half ton Armstrong breech-loading rifles.

The French had really led the way in the use of steel armor, but the idea of armored ships, like so many other useful and ingenious mechanical inventions, is said to have originated in the United States.

The *Warrior* and *Black Prince* were stately, majestic, powerful, and graceful specimens of naval architecture, and when the little *Kearsarge* swept by them in Gibraltar Bay she was dwarfed into insignificance by comparison.

The comparison thus afforded impressed the officers of our little ship with the feeling that should England recognize the states in rebellion as a separate national government, it would result in a permanent dissolution of the Union. It seemed as though the *Warrior* and *Black Prince*, and their sister ships, could sweep the entire Union navy from the ocean.

But appearances sometimes beguile the wisest into error, and this overwhelming exhibition of England's naval power proved to be little more than a passing show; for these new fighting machines, formidable as they seemed, proved to be failures, and were summarily retired as unsuited even to play at the game of war on practice cruises.

Since then the art of naval architecture and gun-making is measured by colossus-like strides.

Meantime the personnel has changed. The exclusive province of Jack Tar has been invaded. The classic sailor no longer shifts ballast by a roll of his tobacco quid; his canvas wings, which once flapped to the melody of his whistle, have been shorn; his spars have been knocked down; the inspiration which he once drew from the whiskey-tot is now drawn from the coffeepot; his craft no longer drifts lazily through the doldrums of the tropics, but is driven through with the speed of the dolphin by the stoker and the engineer; his tarry palm has softened and his former dignities and glories have been appropriated by the horny-handed wizard of machinery. Vulcan now rides in Neptune's barge.

It was during the rapid change and progress in naval architecture and ordnance in England and France that the great Rebellion in the United States broke forth with bewildering force. Inasmuch as the first movements of the *Kearsarge* were determined by the first effort to create a Confederate navy, a brief account of the latter seems unavoidable. On the 9th of February, 1861, the Confederate government was elected.

Commander Semmes, of the United States Navy, tendered his resignation from that service six days afterwards.

Three days later Semmes was ordered, on his own application, to the command of a small steamer, called the *Havana*, which plied between Cuba and New Orleans, and which, after fitting for the Confederate naval service, was named *Sumter*. It was not until the 30th of June following that Semmes succeeded in running the blockade off New Orleans. On the 3rd of July he began his notorious career by burning at sea the fine merchantman *Golden Rocket*, of Bangor, Maine. Seventeen other captures followed in rapid succession, seven of which were burned, and their destruction inflamed public passion to a degree never known before or since in this country. Semmes held eight men, taken from the *Joseph Maxwell*, as hostages, to be executed or otherwise disposed of, according to the action of the United States Government in the case of the prisoners

taken from the *Savannah*, a Confederate corsair which had been captured by the United States sloop *Perry*.

President Lincoln, by proclamation, April 15, 1863, declared that "Such persons will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy."

Preparations were hurriedly made for the capture of the *Sumter*. The sloop of war *Kearsarge* had been built at the Kittery Navy Yard, Maine, and her construction was completed with the celerity which marked most of the movements of the government in those feverish times. From the date her keel was laid to the date of launching was three months. Within four months she had been rigged, manned, armed, and placed in commission. On the 15th of February, 1862, she steamed out of the port of Kittery under orders for Cadiz, in search of the *Sumter*.

The cold was intense. Frosty northern storms prevailed. Ice shrouded the *Kearsarge* from topmast to water-line. Officers and crew were wrapped in woolens. In their living apartments they fanned the chilling air with heated shot and swinging grates of burning charcoal, steam heat at that time not having been adopted for ships of war. Pitiless gales continued to sweep her through tumultuous seas, and, with indiscriminate violence, split her sails and carried away two boats. Buffeted by irresistible hurricanes, the ship was forced back upon her course, and for three days ran before the wind like a retreating foe, when, the gales moderating, she came about and renewed her struggles against heavy seas. For a new ship and a green crew these trials were severe.

After contending thus for seventeen days fairer weather set in, and on the 22d of February, the Island of Madeira rose before our vision.

Having procured new boats and replenished our supplies, we steamed away for Cadiz, where we cast anchor on the 4th day of March, 1862. The *Sumter* had preceded us three months earlier. Her reception there was inhospitable. Although Semmes represented his vessel as unseaworthy, he was ordered to depart within twenty-four hours. From this order he appealed to the government at Madrid, which authorized him to land prisoners and make repairs. Before actually commencing repairs he received peremptory order to depart within the short space of six hours. He again begged for an extension, which was conceded. Smarting under the ungracious treatment he had received, he steamed out of Cadiz harbor and, during the night, proceeded en route to Gibraltar.

The *Sumter* made Gibraltar Light as day was dawning, and, while moving rapidly with the current up the Strait, discovered two sails, distinctly American, near the African coast. Semmes diverged from his course to overtake them. His first victim was the *Neapolitan*. He thus describes the capture: "The cat ran close enough to parley with the mouse before she put her paw on it. She had been freshly painted with the old robber, the bald eagle, surrounded with stars gilded on her stern; her decks looked white and sweet after the morning's ablutions which she had just undergone; her sails were well hoisted and her sheets well home; in short she was a picture to look at, and the cat looked at her as a cat only can look at a sleek mouse."

Then, transferring the crew and passengers from the doomed ship to the *Sumter*, the corsair burned her to the water's edge, within sight of Europe and Africa, large numbers of the Gibraltar garrison and its inhabitants assembling at prominent points to witness the conflagration.

Semmes writes: "Half the town rushed to Europa Point and to the signal-station to watch the chase and capture."

At Gibraltar Semmes was welcomed with marked courtesy. Early the next morning after his arrival, officers of the garrison, and of the navy, called on board to pay their respects; the Admiral of the port, Sir Frederick Warden, supplied an anchor; the military commander, Sir William Codrington, interchanged courtesies; and he was dined by the 100th Canadian Regiment.

The success of Captain Semmes, when he first reached Cadiz, in obtaining permission from the Spanish Government to enter the Royal Docks for repairs, led to great exaltation of mind. While in the flush of this diplomatic success he addressed a letter to the London *Times* in which he bitterly denounced our Secretary of the Navy for characterizing the destruction of defenceless merchantmen at sea as "piratical warfare."

"Mr. Welles," he says, "also in imitation of the dirty and mendacious press of the Yankee states, calls me a pirate. He dares not send a ship of equal force to meet me; and if he dared to do so, I venture to say that officer would not dare to fight me. He knows better than this. He knows that I have been regularly commissioned as a ship of war of the Confederate States."

Such was the low estimate that he placed upon the ability, the sense

of duty, and the courage of his former comrades with whom he had been trained in the United States Navy.

Learning of the presence of the *Sumter* at Gibraltar, the *Kearsarge* left Cadiz on the 8th of March, and entered Gibraltar Bay the same evening.

Without waiting for the visitation of the local officials, the *Kearsarge* steamed rapidly through the shipping in the harbor and anchored within short cable's length of the dreaded corsair.

The unheralded and sudden appearance of the Union ship before this powerful fortress, and the appropriation of an anchorage so near the enemy, created something of a sensation. It became a matter of speculation, alike to the enemy and to the curious spectators on shore, as to what the next action of the *Kearsarge* would be. Altogether the scene was one not to be forgotten.

The flag of nearly every nation was flying from the shipping in the harbor. Semmes could be distinctly seen as he paced the deck of his ship, with head bent forward, both hands beneath his coat-tails, now and then removing one to twirl his pointed mustache.

On shore could be seen scarlet uniforms of the British soldiery mingling with dignified figures of gaily turbaned Moors and plainly garbed citizens.

As darkness approached the *Sumter's* crew gathered to the port side of their ship and sang several songs that aroused our crew to fighting pitch.

When the echoes of the rebel songs died away the *Kearsarge* crew responded with patriotic songs, closing with the tune of the "Star Spangled Banner," while the Stars and Stripes were lowered, as the sun went down, and "the men without a country" looked on in significant silence.

Under the Queen's proclamation of neutrality the *Kearsarge* was notified to leave within twenty-four hours after her entry, and the next morning she steamed across the bay to the Spanish port of Algeciras, some six miles distant, whence vigilant watch was kept on the enemy by day and night.

The severe strain to which our new ship had been exposed, during

the stormy passage across the Atlantic, rendered repairs unavoidable, and twice, with the friendly permission of the Spanish Government, we availed ourselves of the facilities of the royal dock yards at La Carracca, near Cadiz.

During our absence, Semmes, and nine of his officers, abandoned the *Sumter* and proceeded to Nassau, by way of Liverpool. We continued watch upon the abandoned *Sumter* for four months, when we were relieved by the little monitor *Chippewa*, which, owing to her diminutive size, was affectionately called "The Chip of War" by our sailors. She was the first that had ever before undertaken such a voyage as that across the Atlantic.

On the 12th of September we started on our cruise to Madeira and the Azores, during which time the *Sumter* was sold to a British merchant, against the protest of the American Consul, escaped the vigilance of the *Chippewa* during the impenetrable darkness of a tempestuous night, christened anew as the *Gibraltar*, made a successful voyage as a blockade-runner to a Southern port, and was finally lost in the North Sea.

For the second time the *Kearsarge* was compelled to make repairs, and again the Spanish Government extended its courtesies by allowing us the privileges of the royal docks at La Carracca, where we were detained nearly four months.

Winslow continued cruising between Madeira, the Azores, and Spain, including a visit to the Canaries.

To indicate the activity of the *Kearsarge* during this period, it may be mentioned that she cast anchor forty times, within four months, in the different ports fringing the English Channel.

The abandonment of the *Sumter* was suggestive of activity of Confederate vessels in other quarters.

The firm of Laird Brothers, of Liverpool, had built a vessel for the Confederates, which was designed to fight or run away from ships of the *Kearsarge* class. Mr. John Laird had retired from that firm and entered Parliament, where he rendered more efficient service to the Confederate cause than he had done as an active ship-builder.

The contract for the vessel built by the Lairds had been made and signed by the Confederate agent at Liverpool, Captain Bulloch, who had

resigned from the United States Navy. The ship took the yard number "290," registered 1040 tons—9 tons more than the *Kearsarge*. Her frame was of oak: she had long lower masts: large fore and aft and lower sails: her rigging was of Swedish iron wire: her model was graceful and symmetrical: her propeller was arranged to lower and raise: and on her wheel was inscribed the words, "Aide toi et Dieu t'aidera"—"God helps those who help themselves," which her closing career proved to be less appropriate than her name—*Alabama*—"Here we rest."

When this ship was finished Semmes was ordered to proceed, with his officers, from Nassau to Liverpool, and assume command of the "290." They proceeded to that port on the contract steamer *Bahama*.

Communications from our Minister Adams had provided the English Government with convincing proof as to the purpose of the "290," and the ministry issued orders prohibiting the departure of that vessel. But the government was too slow to anticipate the scheme of the Confederate agent.

On the 30th of July, 1862, the "290" being partially manned, a party of ladies and gentlemen were invited to a pleasure excursion on board a steamer designated the *Enrica*, but better known as the "290." The British Government's orders for her detention were delayed, and she proceeded on her trial trip without interruption. When the new ship had passed beyond the marine league, and beyond the jurisdiction of Great Britain, the guests were politely informed that those who desired to return to Liverpool must transfer themselves to an accompanying tug, because the *Enrica* would not return. The transfer was quickly accomplished and the *Enrica* proceeded on her way to the Bay of Praya, off Terceira, in the Azores.

The contract steamer *Bahama* remained in Confederate employ and lay down the Mersey at a convenient point, where Semmes, his officers, and Captain Bulloch went on board, when she proceeded on the same course as the *Enrica* to the Bay of Praya.

A third steamer, the *Agrippina*, laden with guns, ammunition, and other naval stores, departed the same day for the same destination. Still another vessel, an English collier, laden with coal, started to meet the *Enrica*.

The *Bahama* arrived at Praya just as the battery had been transferred from the *Agrippina* to the *Enrica*.

On the following Sunday, August 25, Semmes left the *Bahama* and, for the first time, boarded the *Enrica*, assumed command, raised the Confederate flag, christened her *Alabama*, and steamed away, in company with the *Bahama*, on which Captain Bulloch was a passenger—the *Bahama* bound for Liverpool, and the *Alabama* bound on her reckless career of destruction of American commerce.

The *Kearsarge* continued on guard in European waters. The rule of neutrality was enforced against her chiefly in France and England, but fortunately the Spaniard and Hollander extended to us hearty welcome.

At Brest we found the Confederate steamer *Florida*, to which Napoleon III. had extended the privilege of that extensive naval station for alterations and repairs.

Confident that the *Florida* could not leave for some days, the *Kearsarge* left for Queenstown, whence she took sixteen men, which act, being in violation of the Queen's neutrality, occasioned much diplomatic correspondence and fiery oratory in Parliament.

After watching the *Florida* for a period of thirty-six days longer, the *Kearsarge* abandoned that occupation and proceeded to Cadiz for supplies, whence, after obtaining them, she once more returned to Brest to find the *Florida* gone.

In the early part of 1864 the English Channel became our cruising ground, and, from time to time, numbers of adjacent ports were visited for shelter and observation. The Emperor of the French had extended to the *Rappahannock*, a vessel purchased by the Confederates from the British Navy, the privileges of the port of Calais, to fit out as a man-of-war, but, watched by the *Kearsarge*, she never succeeded in leaving port until the Rebellion closed.

Prejudice, jealousy, and ignorance combined in exciting enmity toward our government.

Some imagined that the Straits of Magellan constituted the fiat of the Almighty which must forever separate the North and South Americans.

Mistaken judgment as well as misinformation controlled the opinion of eminent statesmen.

Mr. Gladstone declared in Parliament that the Union was dissolved.

Mr. Laird said, in reply to an eloquent defence of the Union by Mr. Bright: "I would rather be handed down to posterity as the builder of a dozen *Alabamas* than as the man who applies himself deliberately to set class against class, and to cry up the institutions of another country which, when they come to be tested, are of no value whatever and which reduce liberty to an utter absurdity."

In the spring of 1864 an incident of peculiar interest occurred. In order to replace a spar lost during a gale in the Channel, Captain Winslow, in due form, applied for permission to enter the Victoria Docks, in London, and, without awaiting a reply, which he presumed would be granted, proceeded thither, discharged powder, received a new topmast, docked ship, and made other minor improvements. All this had been accomplished without interruption, when, alas! Earl Russell complained to the American Minister that the *Kearsarge* had come to the great metropolis of London, and entered dock there, without express leave of his government, and that, moreover, she had been utilizing the English Channel for warlike purposes!

Minister Adams could do no less than to request Captain Winslow to leave London. Immediately the *Kearsarge* hauled out of dock, her repairs completed, took on board her powder, and proceeded to her old cruising-ground in the Channel.

During the presence of Captain Winslow in London Confederate sympathizers, in and out of Parliament, discussed the propriety of arresting him for alleged breach of the enlistment act in the port of Queens-town, by enlisting there sixteen seamen, but the agitation did not ripen into action.

These instances of prejudice to our country are not cited to stir you to enmity against the English people, for that would be unjust to hosts of English friends; and loyal Americans should not forget that, during our Civil War, many popular demonstrations in support of the Union were made, while there were none in support of the Confederacy.

We now approach the culminating experiences of the cruise. Messages of friendly warning and advice came to us from different parts of the Continent and England. It was suggested that the rams building in England and France—the *Rappahannock*, the *Georgia*, and the *Florida*—would probably join the *Alabama*, and, by some cunning combination, capture or destroy the Union ship.

Soon after these warnings the appearance of the *Alabama* in French waters lent support to such apprehensions.

While lying at Flushing in the Scheldt a telegram from the American Minister at Paris announced the arrival of the notorious *Alabama* at the port of Cherbourg. Immediately the cornet was displayed at the fore, as a signal for absentees to repair on board. The signal was quickly responded to, and when the ship was under way, the crew, overflowing with eager expectation, were mustered on the spar deck, and Captain Winslow read the important dispatch and congratulated them on the prospect of meeting the corsair that had so long eluded pursuit in different parts of the globe.

The patriotic ardor of the crew burst forth in tumultuous cheers as if animated by the fiery spirit of De Ruyter, the famous Dutch admiral, whose statue stood near the quay we had just left.

Cherbourg lay down the Channel some five hundred miles distant. On the 12th of June the *Kearsarge* left the Scheldt, on the 13th she entered the port of Dover and on the 24th she stopped off the eastern entrance of Cherbourg breakwater, whence the *Alabama* was discovered lying in Cherbourg Roads. Captain Winslow communicated with the Admiral of the province and the American Consular Agent, took a pilot on board, and, setting the forestaysail and the spanker, lay off and on the eastern entrance of the breakwater.

On the 15th he again communicated with the Admiral, who was solicitous that the dignity of France should in no way be imperiled by either belligerent.

Inasmuch as the line of neutrality from shore had formerly been determined by the assumed flight of a cannon-shot, so now the span of neutral waters should be determined by the flight of projectiles from improved guns.

Thus the dignity of France on this occasion should be regarded as about nine miles in diameter.

It was found necessary at night to approach much nearer than that distance from the breakwater in order to efficiently guard against the escape of our enemy.

Amid speculations as to whether Semmes would fight or run away, the following letter was delivered on board to Captain Winslow by the

son of Minister Dayton. This letter is addressed to the Confederate Agent at the port, by him it was referred to the United States Consular Agent, and by him passed to young Dayton, who was Secretary of our Legation at Paris.

“ CONFEDERATE STEAMER ALABAMA

CHERBOURG, June 14th, 1864.

To A. BONFILS, ESQ.,
Cherbourg.

Sir:

I hear that you were informed by the United States Consul that the *Kearsarge* was to come to this port for the prisoners landed by me, and that she was to depart in twenty-four hours. I desire you to say to the United States Consul that my intention is to fight the *Kearsarge* as soon as I can make the necessary arrangements. I hope these will not detain me more than until to-morrow or the morrow morning at farthest. I beg she will not depart until I am ready to go out. I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

R. SEMMES,
Captain.”

The attack that followed this letter displayed a high quality of courage, which usually raises its possessor above the petty prejudices displayed by its writer years after the Rebellion had ended.

The *Kearsarge* waited five days, her ports down, her guns pivoted to starboard, the whole battery loaded, and every other preparation made for attack or defence.

Visiting pilots reported unusual preparations on board the *Alabama*. Cutlasses and axes were ground to meet the exigencies of close conflict, and two hundred handcuffs were made ready for anticipated prisoners. These precautions were wise and prudent, but not strictly in accord with Mrs. Glass' receipt for cooking a hare.

Not without reason, a desperate and prolonged conflict was thought possible. The enemy was known to be powerful. His crew had been disciplined for months, and numbers of them had been trained in the Royal navy. His ship, his guns, his ammunition, were of English manufacture, and of the best quality obtainable. Captain Semmes himself, his executive, and his division officers, had been educated for, and trained in, the American navy.

Six months before his entry into the port of Cherbourg, by the stratagem of steaming under British colors, and hailing as "Her Britannic Majesty's steamer *Petrel*," he betrayed the United States steamer *Hatteras* into a near approach and sank her in the short space of thirteen minutes.

News from home was depressing. The importance of Union victories was minimized, Confederate victories exaggerated, before the truth reached the European public; and the President's call, during the preceding months of February, March and April, for 775,000 more men for the army gave weight to the boastings of the advocates of the Confederacy in Europe.

Paris was blatant with the bold, confident declarations of the supporters of the Rebel cause, headed by the wily Slidell.

The Emperor, Napoleon III., favored the joint recognition, by England and France, of a Southern government, while grasping with a hand of steel at Mexico, through the instrumentality of the heroic but unfortunate Maximilian.

To a friend at Paris the Emperor wrote:

"My dear Persigny:

I have given orders that the *Rappahannock* may leave France, but the American Minister must know nothing of it.

NAPOLÉON."

To M. Ancel, Deputy of the Corps Legislatif, from Havre, the Emperor said: "However, Lee will take Washington, and then I will recognize the Confederacy. England will regret her course. England always likes to be on the side of the 'strongest.'"

James Williams, a confidential friend and agent of Maximilian at Miramar, wrote Jefferson Davis that the candidate for the throne of Maximilian was disposed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Southern Confederacy.

In an interview with Mr. Slidell, in which he sought to obtain the Emperor's verbal assurance that the arming and manning of the rams building in France should not be watched too closely by his police, Napoleon said: "Why could you not have them built as if for the Italian Government."

Even the Pope, the anointed keeper and expounder of the faith for all Catholic Christendom, addressed Davis as "Illustrious and Honorable President."

Doubtless the reflections of both combatants on the situation ran in similar grooves.

The locality is renowned as the scene of important military and naval events during many centuries.

Cæsar crossed these waters for the invasion of Britain half a century before the Christian era. Twelve hundred years ago Danish pirates preyed on European commerce, as Semmes and his fellow Confederates now preyed on American commerce. Within these waters the Spanish Armada, consisting of one hundred and twenty-nine ships, met disaster in its struggle to contest the claim of Britain as "Mistress of the Seas."

While the *Kearsarge* waited, there lay, on one side of the Channel, the splendid squadrons of the French navy, on the other, the invincible fleets of England.

What was to be the outcome of the prospective battle, to be fought before these watchful, critical eyes?

Was the result to afford English enemies of the Union an opportunity to exult over the defeat of a "Yankee" ship by a British Confederate corsair, as did their ancestors over American defeats when this nation was struggling into existence?

These reflections may be considered fanciful by the self-centered man, but fancy at that time was subordinate to the realities of the hour.

Our country was passing through her darkest night, and it was difficult then to measure the effect of the pending battle to either belligerent.

Happily a victory was won which checked the rising tide of sympathy with the Rebellion in Europe, and made our flag respected throughout the world as an emblem of freedom and of power.

The supreme moment of action was fast approaching, though yet unknown, to the eager watchers on board the *Kearsarge*.

On Sunday morning, the nineteenth of June, 1864, the Union ship was steaming "off and on" a little more than three miles from Cherbourg breakwater.

At daylight a thin haze prevailed, but the sun soon penetrated through it, and the famous breakwater, the city, and the adjoining coast could be distinctly seen. An excursion train from Paris brought numbers of sight-seers, and the determination of Semmes to fight, having been noised by the Paris-rebel navy, the announcement became widely spread, so that it attracted to the hills near the city, the fortification, the mole, and the breakwater, thousands of curious spectators. Thus the combat became a sort of gladiatorial show, with representatives of all Europe as witnesses.

The waves affected the motion of the ship but slightly; the Channel was dotted here and there with the white and tan-colored sails of fishermen and pilots, while at intervals a stately ship sailed majestically past laden with the fruits of peaceful commerce.

Our crew had cleaned ship, donned their Sunday suits of blue, and were leisurely smoking and discussing their chances in a "brush" with the "290."

It was about ten o'clock in the morning, just as the bell had tolled for religious services, and the senior officers gathered about the wardroom table were startled by Wheeler shouting down the hatchway, "She's coming! She's coming! and heading straight for us!"

As each officer sprung to his feet and hastened on deck there could be seen three vessels steaming out of Cherbourg breakwater through the western entrance.

One of these was the magnificent French ironclad *La Couronne*, which had been detailed to maintain French neutrality; one was a small English yacht, afterwards known as the *Deerhound*, and the third was the sharp-bowed, dashing Confederate sloop of war *Alabama*.

All hands were called to quarters. The deck was strewn with sand. Captain Winslow laid aside his prayer-book, seized the trumpet, and ordered his ship headed seaward. When the *Couronne* reached the Marine League, with a courtesy which we regarded as peculiarly French, she steamed back behind the breakwater out of sight. Thus the *Alabama* became again a free rover of the seas, free to burn and plunder defenceless fishermen and merchantmen, or to meet an armed and expectant enemy, the first to encounter since she had sunk the worthless little "tinclad" *Hatteras*.

In consequence of the refusal of the French Minister of State, Drouyn d'Lhuys, to grant Semmes the privileges of the government docks; stung to anger by the merciless shafts of ridicule levelled at him by critics whose favor he wanted, and who demanded that he perform some act worthy of a belligerent, which should entitle him to recognition as the representative of a legitimate government; considering it the surest course to fame and to the advancement of a desperate cause, Semmes gallantly determined upon trial by battle. In a letter to the Confederate Flag Officer S. Barron, at Paris, Semmes expressed the opinion that the presence of the *Kearsarge* was a challenge, and added, "We are about equally matched."

That he was alive to the situation is evident from the harangue which he delivered to his crew while mounted on a gun-carriage. He said:

"Officers and men of the *Alabama*. You have at length another opportunity of meeting the enemy, the first that has been presented to you since you sank the *Hatteras*! In the meantime you have been all over the world, and it is not too much to say that you have destroyed or driven for protection under neutral flags one-half of the enemy's commerce! This is an achievement of which you may well be proud, and a grateful country will not be unmindful of it. The name of your ship has become a household word wherever civilization extends! Shall that name be tarnished with defeat? The thing is impossible.

Remember that you are in the English Channel, the theater of so much of the naval glory of our race, and that the eyes of all Europe are upon you. The flag that floats over you is that of a young republic which bids defiance to its enemies whenever or wherever found! Show the world that you know how to uphold it! Go to your quarters!"

How hostilities would begin was problematical. There were no precedents to follow, and this action was to mark a new era of naval warfare between vessels under steam propulsion by combatants so equally matched, and under circumstances admitting of any evolution that either might deem advantageous.

As the combatants approached each other silence prevailed. "Every sense was crowded at the heart intense."

The tactics of the *Alabama* were quickly developed. She had been discovered coming out of the breakwater at 10:20 o'clock in the morning.

The *Kearsarge* immediately headed seaward, running from the enemy until 10:50 o'clock, when she came about and headed directly for the *Alabama*. In about seven minutes thereafter the enemy sheered, presented her starboard battery, and fired a full broadside, cutting the rigging of the *Kearsarge*, some shots passing over, and others falling short. The distance was estimated to have been about a mile and a quarter. In two minutes the enemy fired a second broadside and followed that with a third, and with like results as the first.

Bolts of lurid fire and puff after puff of dense, bluish smoke, rolling out from the side of the *Alabama*, told the eye of the attack before the booming of the guns or the shells screaming through the air could be heard.

These broadsides were raking shots and excited our crew to expressions of indignant protest because of what they thought unnecessary exposure.

Captain Winslow himself, somewhat apprehensive that another broadside might prove disastrous, veered his ship, presenting his starboard battery, and gave the order: "All the divisions! Aim low for the water-line! Fire! Load and fire rapidly as possible!"

Inasmuch as each vessel fought her starboard battery, each now headed in an opposite direction to the other, so that if each had moved forward in a straight line each would have passed out of range of her opponent.

Each vessel therefore was forced into taking a circular track, and during the fight made seven complete circles. Thus the action continued a little more than an hour.

Twenty-eight projectiles struck the *Kearsarge*, the most effective being a rifle-shell from the one hundred-pounder Blakely rifle. The projectile first hit the starboard quarter in a slanting direction, scraped along the bend about ten feet, leaving a well defined furrow along the oak planking, then passed through space for about the same distance, and finally lodged in the rudder-post, where it remained during the rest of the cruise. The blow of this shell was terrific, and shook the ship from stem to stern. Semmes pronounced it a mortal wound, or that it would have proved a mortal wound had it not been for his "defective ammunition."

The only casualty to our crew resulted from the crushing through the

starboard bulwarks by a projectile which exploded and wounded three men with flying splinters.

According to the testimony of Captain Semmes, his executive officer, Kell, and the captured men and officers of the *Alabama*, the enemy suffered severely.

Early in the fight her spanker gaff was shot away, and her ensign came down by the run; a shot passed through her waist, giving her the appearance of being nearly cut in two. Mr. Wilson, who commanded the after pivot-gun division, reported that an eleven-inch shell from the *Kearsarge* burst over his gun and put *hors de combat* fifteen out of eighteen of his crew; another shell exploded in the fire-room, filling it with coal, smothering the fires, and occasioning general consternation.

Kell writes: "The enemy's eleven-inch shells were now doing severe execution upon our quarter-deck section; three of these successively entered our pivot-gun port; the first swept off the forward part of the gun's crew, the second killed one man and wounded several others, and the third struck the breast of the gun-carriage and spun around on deck till one of the men picked it up and threw it overboard.

Our decks," he continues, "were now covered with the dead and wounded, and the ship was careening heavily to starboard from the effect of the shot-holes in her water-line.

Captain Semmes ordered me to make all sail possible when the circuit of the fight should put our head to the coast of France; then he would notify me at same time to pivot to port and continue the action with the port battery, hoping thus to right the ship and enable us to reach the coast of France.

The evolution was performed beautifully, righting the helm, hoisting the head sails, hauling aft the fore trysail sheet and pivoting to port, the action continuing almost without cessation. This evolution exposed us to a raking fire, but strange to say the *Kearsarge* did not take advantage of it. The port side of the quarter-deck was so encumbered with the mangled trunks of the dead that I had to have them thrown overboard in order to fight the after pivot-gun.

I abandoned the after thirty-two-pounder and transferred the men to fill up the vacancies to the pivot gun, under charge of young Midshipman Anderson, who in the midst of the carnage filled his place like a veteran.

. . . As I entered the wardroom the sight was indeed appalling. There stood Surgeon Llewellyn at his post, but the table and the patient upon it were swept away from him by an 11-inch shell which opened in the side of the ship an aperture which was fast filling the ship with water.

It took me but a moment to return to the deck and report to the Captain that we could not float ten minutes. He replied 'Then sir, cease firing, shorten sail, and haul down the colors; it will never do in this nineteenth century for us to go down and the decks covered with our gallant wounded.'

The order was promptly executed, after which the *Kearsarge* deliberately fired into us five shots. With the first shot fired upon us after our colors were down, the quartermaster was ordered to show a white flag over the stern, which was executed in my presence."

In his report to Confederate Flag Officer Barron, at Paris, Semmes writes:

"Some ten or fifteen minutes after the commencement of the action, our spanker gaff was shot away and our ensign came down by the run. This was immediately replaced by another at the mizzen mast head.

The firing now became very hot, and the enemy's shot and shell soon began to tell upon our hull, knocking down, killing, and disabling a number of men at the same time, in different parts of the ship.

For some minutes I had hopes of being able to reach the French coast, for which purpose I gave the ship full steam, and set such of the fore and aft sails as were available."

Such is the testimony of officers of the doomed ship. Projectiles from the *Alabama* came thick and fast, but mostly missed their mark.

When the ensign of the corsair disappeared the *Kearsarge* slackened fire until the enemy's flag reappeared, when Winslow cautioned his gunners not to again suspend fire until unmistakable signals of surrender should be made.

Now one of the enemy's guns ceased firing, and his ship seemed to be settling.

A little later she hoisted her fore trysail sheets, and, pivoting her guns to port, turned her prow away from the *Kearsarge* with the view of reaching French waters, and thus avoiding capture.

It was a tell-tale manœuvre, and had been delayed too long: a 28-pounder rifle-shot had struck her main topmast: the 11-inch and smaller projectiles riddled her side from stem to stern; great gaps opened in her side, which no plugs could fill; and the salt brine of the English Channel rushed through them in irresistible torrents. The *Alabama* continued to settle, and as we prepared to deliver another broadside, at closer range, the enemy's flag again disappeared. Almost simultaneously the halyards of the *Kearsarge's* battle-flag, which, during the entire fight, had been stopped up at the mizzen, while the enemy's had been defiantly flying, were cut by shot from the enemy, and the Stars and Stripes, unrolling to the breeze, as the rebel flag came down, indicated to the distant spectator on which banner victory had perched.

Thus by firing the first shot, the enemy sounded his daring challenge to the encounter, and, as if with the hand of fate, his shot cut loose the Union flag, at the masthead of the *Kearsarge*, he signalled his irretrievable defeat.

A moment of doubt, and uncertainty, and silence followed, and then our assurance of victory was complete. For shortly after the lowering of the enemy's flag there was observed displayed over her stern the unmistakable sign of complete surrender. Some one cried, "She shows the white feather! There's a white flag!" and then the whole crew united in the shout, "She's surrendered!"

Amid these cheers of triumph two more shots were fired by the enemy from her port bow guns.

The *Kearsarge* replied to this violation of a flag of truce by firing another broadside, and the contest was ended.

Boats were seen to be lowering by the *Alabama*, one of which came alongside in charge of a young Englishman with a message from Captain Semmes to Captain Winslow, announcing that his ship was sinking, and requesting aid in rescuing his imperilled crew.

Upon the request of the Englishman, permission was granted to him to aid in the rescue. A few moments later a boat-load of wounded men in charge of Surgeon Galt, and commanded by Lieutenant Wilson, came alongside.

Suddenly, as if at a given signal, the remainder of the crew of the fated ship leaped, almost as one man, into the chilling waters that flow down from the northern seas.

The wrecked and battered hulk of the *Alabama* settled rapidly by the stern and canted; her main topmast, cut by shot, tumbled down over her side; her bow rose high in air as if preparatory for a suicidal plunge; and then, in a moment, the greatest curse to which any commerce had ever been subjected was engulfed in the uncompassionate waves of the ocean.

Some of her crew clung to floating spars, some to boxes and gratings, others to an extemporized raft, on which sat the drummer boy with his melodious drum.

Captain Semmes trusted to a life-buoy, while his executive scarcely managed to save his life by aid of a grating.

Such of the *Kearsarge* boats as had not been crushed by shot were speedily lowered, and assisted in rescuing seventy officers and men. Just after the *Alabama* sank the *Deerhound* steamed under the stern of the *Kearsarge* and Captain Winslow called out, "For God's sake, do what you can to save them!"

Mr. Lancaster replied, "Ay! Ay! I will, sir!" and the little yacht shaped her course directly toward the men struggling in the water.

The young English officer who asked to join in the rescue of his comrades steered directly for the *Deerhound*, jumped on board that craft, and boldly set his boat adrift. The wounded, bemoaning their fate, were carried below on the *Kearsarge* and consigned to the Surgeon's care. The five captured officers were admitted to the appropriate messes, warmed with stimulating beverages and dry clothing, and the captured crew were placed under the forecastle without a shackle on one of them.

The Channel was now calm as when the sun that morning first shed its rays over the scene of the struggle just ended.

Mr. Semmes declares that he dropped his sword into the sea, after having volunteered to surrender by the display of a white flag—"In defiance and hatred of the Yankee and his accursed flag."

As the vanquished commander was assisted to the deck of the *Deerhound*, his hand contused, his garments hanging like cerements to his gaunt form, it must have been with a touch of dramatic pathos that he appealed to his humane English host not to put him under the Yankee flag, but to protect him under the cross of St. George.

Probably it was partly in compliance with that appeal, partly from

inclination, that Mr. Lancaster steamed away rapidly for Southampton, where the Confederate Captain figured as the hero of the hour, was welcomed with feasts and speeches, and a letter of congratulation from Miss Gladstone (sister of the statesman), and was presented with a memorial sword, purchased by guinea subscriptions under patronage of Commander Pym, R. N.

Captain Winslow and his valiant adversary can no longer respond to our praise or criticism. Yet in the briefest sketch of this episode of the great Rebellion, truth should be vindicated.

In life Captain Semmes took much pains to emphasize his enmity to the Union Government and its supporters. Let us allow him to speak for himself.

His political views, his prejudices, and his criticisms must ever remain subordinate in interest to the history of his active and picturesque career.

His philosophy seems to have been the philosophy of passion. The bitterness of defeat rankled in his bosom like a dagger, and he never recovered from the painful wound that it inflicted.

As late as 1869, when he published his *Services Afloat*, with the studied deliberation of authorship he declared: "A little while back, and I had served under the very flag that I had that day defied. Strange revolution of feeling, how I now hated that flag! It had been to me as a mistress to a lover; I had looked upon it with admiring eyes, had dallied with it in hours of ease, and had had recourse to it in hours of trouble, and now I found it false."

Again he says: "The old flag which I had been accustomed to worship in my youth had a criminal look in my eyes."

He characterized his former companions in arms as "pimps and spies." After accepting the gracious pardon of President Johnson, which relieved him from the political disabilities which he had acquired, he denounced his benefactor as a "charlatan and a traitor."

Of President Lincoln's assassination he wrote: "It seemed like a just retribution that he should be cut off in the midst of the hosannas that were being shouted in his ears. As a Christian it was my duty to say, 'Lord, have mercy on his soul,' but the devil will surely take care of his memory."

He declared the device of hanging chains along the sides of the *Kearsarge* to have been "a cheat."

He declares that his shot and shell rebounded from this coat of mail, or were broken into fragments and fell into the sea: that his defeat was due to the dishonorable deception of the Union Commander in wearing chain armor, and to his own defective ammunition by deterioration by age.

It may be well to remark that the chains were hung over the midship section of the *Kearsarge* not for use in this fight, nor were they specially forged for armor. They were common iron anchor chains, taken from the hold a year previous to the action for the double purpose of making room for other stores, and to lessen the force of small shot, which, on occasion, might be fired by a blockade runner. The device was not new. It had previously been employed in Southern waters by both the Union and the Confederate forces.

The bulging chain armor was to be easily seen at a considerable distance, and was observed at all the ports visited by the *Kearsarge* for more than a year previously.

That so alert a seaman as Semmes was should not have detected it when the *Kearsarge* entered Cherbourg harbor, seems incredible. As a trained naval officer, he certainly knew that it was not the duty of a combatant to instruct his adversary in the art of war. In short, were not the misrepresentations of Semmes so widespread and accepted as authoritative, by friends as well as foes, they would be considered too trivial to refute. The chain armor did not in any way contribute to the result of the battle. They were struck but three times, each time by a 32-pound projectile, and each cut through the chain as though they were pipe-stems. Every shot or shell that rebounded from this coat of mail or broke into fragments and fell into the sea, could have been seen by Mr. Semmes only within the radius of his mind's eye.

There was much serious discussion about the escape of Mr. Semmes. The Secretary of the Navy required Captain Winslow to explain why he "permitted the *Deerhound* to carry off under his guns the pirate captain, his first lieutenant, and a portion of his crew." Captain Winslow replied that he had trusted to the honor of a gentleman of an English yacht club.

Mr. Lancaster held that he was not bound to deliver the rescued men to Winslow by any rule or usage of civilized warfare.

Semmes asserts the right of prisoners to escape if not restrained.

Our able Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, in discussing the question with Earl Russell, says: "It was the right of the *Kearsarge* that the pirates should drown, unless saved by humane efforts of the officers and crew of that vessel, or by their own efforts, without the aid of the *Deerhound*. I freely admit it is no part of a neutral's duty to assist in making captures for a belligerent, but I maintain it to be equally clear that so far from being neutrality it is direct hostility for a stranger to intervene and rescue men who had been cast into the ocean in battle and to convey them away from the enemy's guns."

Clearly, Mr. Lancaster violated his Queen's proclamation of neutrality, and had Winslow forcibly taken the *Alabama's* men from the *Deerhound*, it is difficult to conceive how Mr. Lancaster could have successfully sustained an appeal to her Majesty's government, whose neutrality he had violated.

At this point we might appropriately close our narrative with the single word Alabama, signifying, "Here we rest."

How significant a word for this scourge of American commerce as she sank, in forty fathoms of water, and into her grave at the bottom of the English Channel, so near the cradle of her origin!

How appropriate too that the *Deerhound*, built at the same time and in the same shipyard as the *Alabama*, should officiate as chief mourner at her funeral!

Were we to seek for authoritative opinions of this battle, we may find them among both friends and foes.

The executive of the *Alabama* writes: "The 11-inch shells of the *Kearsarge* did fearful work, and her guns were served beautifully, being aimed with precision and deliberate in fire. She came into action magnificently. Having the speed of us, she took her position, and fought gallantly. But she tarnished her glory when she fired upon a fallen foe."

The London *Times* wrote: "Is there not something ominous in such an encounter within our own seas? Such a contest, so brief, so hard fought, and so decisive, is even more terrible than the hand-to-hand tussle and the mere game of fisticuffs that our fleets used to indulge in with a thousand popguns on either side."

The *Liverpool Courier* said: "Down under the French waters, resting on the bed of the ocean, lies the gallant *Alabama*, with all her guns aboard, and some of her brave crew waiting until the sea yields up the dead. She has cost the Federals a thousand times more than her price. She has been worth an army of 100,000 men to the Confederates. She was the allegory of the Confederacy itself. Down with her, hissed to the bottom her captain's sword. The *Kearsarge*, whose glory it was to have slain this dragon which devastated the American mercantile marine, was built not for speed, but for war."

Among our friends, we confidently turn to our great Admiral Farragut, who wrote to his son:

"The victory of the *Kearsarge* has raised me up. I would sooner have fought that fight than any ever fought on the ocean! Only think of it. It was fought like a tournament in full view of thousands of French and English, with perfect confidence on the part of all, but the Union people, that we would be whipped!"

The career of the *Kearsarge* illustrates the nature of the service rendered our country by the navy during the most perilous crisis in our history.

The effect of her victory in the English Channel demonstrates the advantages to be secured by an efficient navy in all emergencies of great public peril. And this truth is emphasized by the triumphs at Manila and at Santiago, at a time when the European press, loudly, and almost unanimously protested against our navy operating in the very waters where the *Kearsarge* cruised for nearly three years and where her victory was won.

While we follow, with just and exalted pride, the footsteps of our soldiers from the Aroostook to the Golden Gate, from Porto Rico to the Philippines, erecting monuments over their graves, and crowning the brow of the living with garlands of imperishable fame, let us consecrate a single niche in the cathedral of our memories to the patriotic American sailor, who braves the shafts of disease in every clime, who falls in battle far from his native land, whose shroud is the Stars and Stripes, whose requiem is the everlasting anthem of the waves, and whose only monument is the unsullied flag of his country for which he fights and dies.

JOSEPH ADAMS SMITH, U. S. N.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS AGAIN

THE article of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet concerning the site of the battle of Harlem Heights (Sept. 16, 1776), which appeared in the September number of the MAGAZINE, cannot mislead any careful historical student who will take the pains to examine the contemporary authorities on the subject. But lest some of the readers of the article who have not the time or material for a critical examination may be unsettled in their notions concerning the site by Dr. Emmet's article, it seems wise, in the interest of authentic history, that some cognizance be taken of his statements.

Dr. Emmet contends that the battle did not take place on what are now called Morningside Heights, but occurred in the vicinity of Trinity Cemetery at 155th Street, about two miles further north. His statements are so confused, his recollection of topography with which he was once familiar is so evidently at fault, and his conception of the operations of September 16 is so much at variance with recorded facts, that it is difficult to analyze his article and discover the basis of his argument.

Before proceeding to examine his statements it may be well to recall just what the battle of Harlem Heights was.

Harlem Plains is a plateau bounded approximately on the east by Harlem river, on the south by the line of East 106th and West 110th streets, on the west by Morningside avenue, and on the north by 130th street. On the south are the heights of Central Park; on the west Morningside Heights; and on the north, Breakneck Hill and other high ground. All these Heights bordering on Harlem Plains were known under the general term of the "Heights of Harlem," an expression which was applied as far northward at least as Washington's Headquarters in 160th street. Different portions of the Heights also had local designations, as for instance, "Vandewater Heights," now called Morningside Heights.

Harlem Plains are connected with the Hudson River by a valley which runs in a northwesterly direction between Morningside Heights and the hills to the northward, along the line of Manhattan street, that is

to say, from about Ninth Avenue and 125th Street to the Hudson River at 130th Street.

On the morning of September 16, 1776, the advance posts of the British extended across the heights on the south side of Harlem Plains from McGown's Pass, in the northeast corner of Central Park, to the Hudson River at about 105th Street. The advance posts of the Americans were on the heights on the north side of the Manhattan street Hollow Way.

About dawn on the 16th, Knowlton's Rangers moved out from the American lines, on a reconnoitering expedition, crossed the low intervening ground, and encountered the British pickets on the high land near 105th Street and the Hudson River. The Americans were driven back to their own lines, the British coming to the northernmost part of Morningside Heights, now called Claremont, confronting the Americans across the Hollow Way.

With a view to capturing the British, Washington put into operation a little stratagem which resulted in the second action of the day. He sent a small body of Americans down into the Hollow Way to act as a decoy to draw the British down the slope, at the same time sending out two detachments to circumvent the enemy and cut off their retreat. The British ran down the hill as expected, but the circumventing parties of Americans, clambering up the heights out of sight, by an unfortunate mistake closed in too soon and struck the British on the flanks instead of in the rear, with the result that the British retreat was not cut off. The British therefore regained the Heights, where the most desperate part of the fighting took place in a buckwheat field, and were finally driven back to their lines; whereupon the Americans returned to their own camp.

That, in brief, was the battle of Harlem Heights, as substantiated by innumerable contemporary authorities. Now what is Dr. Emmet's idea of the battle? He says: "There exists no question that the battle of Harlem was fought either to the north or the south of the western portion of Harlem Flats; that the Americans occupied certain heights; and that the assault of the English was made by one body (and that the larger portion) from the plain below along these heights; at the same time a smaller body gained the top of these heights by ascending a ravine from the Hudson River bank at some distance from the main line of attack. The whole question then relates to the locality of Harlem Heights."

As near as we can gather from the foregoing statement, and from

paragraphs which follow it, Dr. Emmet is apparently trying to disprove a claim (which no one makes) that the Americans were camped on Morningside Heights; that the British went down into Harlem Plains from McGown's Pass in Central Park, and then assaulted the Americans on the Heights, being assisted by a smaller body of British who came up through a ravine from the Hudson on the other side. He does not seem to know what he is arguing against.

To prove the location of the site of the battle, let us first determine the location of the opposing lines just before it occurred.

"The position the King's army took on the 15th in the evening, was with the right to Horen's Hook and the left at the North River near to Bloomingdale." (Sir William Howe to Lord Germain, Sept. 21, 1776.) There is no ambiguity in this description of the location of the British army on the night before the Battle of Harlem, when taken in connection with British maps, showing the advance lines of the British extending from the Hudson River eastward along the line of 105th and 106th Streets to McGown's Pass in Central Park, with the extreme right at Horn's Hook, at 89th Street and East River. In view of this definite evidence it seems unnecessary to quote other testimony as to the location of the British.

And where were the American lines at the same time?

"The rebels are on the opposite hills," says Captain Wm. G. Evelyn of the British Light Infantry. The "opposite hills" are located by Captain Geo. Harris of the Fifth British Regiment who says: "We drove the Americans into their works beyond the eight-mile stone." The eight-mile stone was on Harlem Lane (approximately St. Nicholas avenue) at about 116th Street.

(Mr. R. S. Guernsey adds the following reference from Clift's Diary, quoted in Moore's Diary of the Revolution:)

"16 Sept. 1776.

Our army is now between the nine and ten-mile stones, where they are strongly fortified and intrenched. The enemy's lines are about one mile and a half below them."¹

¹ The 10th milestone stood at 153d Street. The 9th milestone stood at 133d Street. A mile and a half below 143 equals 103d Street.—R. P. B.

But how far beyond (or north of) the eight-mile stone? "Mr. Washington's men were driven . . . as far as the hill with a Hollow Way on its right, about three miles short of Mount Morris," says a letter from New York, dated September 23, 1776. Mt. Morris was the height on which Col. Roger Morris' house still stands, between 160th and 161st Streets. This, together with the word "opposite" quoted in the preceding paragraph, locates the hill unmistakably on the north side of the Manhattan Hollow Way, although the distance stated, "three miles," is somewhat greater than it really is.

American authorities confirm the British statements as to the location of the American troops. On September 14, 1776, Washington changed his headquarters from Richmond Hill to Col. Morris' house, before referred to. Writing from thence on September 18, of the events of September 16, he says: "The enemy appeared . . . about two and a half miles from hence. I rode *down* to our advanced posts." The American advance posts were therefore south of 160th Street, and somewhat less than two and a half miles distant, for the British appeared beyond (or south) of them. This location coincides with that given by the British as being at the Manhattan Hollow Way, and is confirmed by Washington's General Orders of September 16, giving "the arrangement for this night upon the heights commanding the Hollow Way from the North River to the Main Road leading from New York to Kingsbridge."

The foregoing citations as to the position of the confronting armies on the eve of the battle might be multiplied; but if these are not sufficiently convincing, with the corroborative evidence following, further demonstration would be useless.

Now, if the armies lay where the foregoing authorities appear to locate them, the engagement of September 16 must have taken place between them. And this we find to have been the case by absolutely unmistakable landmarks.

The Manhattan Hollow Way terminated at the Hudson River in a round meadow known in olden times as Moertje Davit's Vly, or Mother David's Meadow. Gen. George Clinton, writing to the New York Convention, September 18, 1776, concerning the battle of the 16th, says: "About ten o'clock, a party of the enemy . . . attacked our advanced party . . . at Martje Davit's Fly."

The Hollow Way is located with equal clearness by Peter Dubois

in a letter to Major Colden, dated September 17, in which he says that the action of the 16th occurred "near where the gully terminates that crosses the island as you enter Harlem Lane from Kingsbridge." The Kingsbridge road merged into Harlem Lane at Manhattanville.

The place where the American reconnoitering party appeared before the British outposts early on the 16th, is indicated by the journal of Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Kemble of the British army, who says: "Monday, Sept. 16th. In the morning, a party of the enemy showed themselves at Jones' house." Nicholas Jones' stone farm house stood near the present 106th Street on the west side of the Bloomingdale road (approximately Broadway).

The hill on which the most desperate fighting took place is identified by Major Lewis Morris, Jr., who wrote to his father on September 18: "Monday morning, an advanced party, Col. Knowlton's regiment, was attacked upon a height a little to the southwest of Day's tavern." Day's tavern was on the line of the present 126th Street, 200 feet west of 8th Avenue. This locates the fight on Morningside Heights, formerly known as Vandewater Heights.

Sir William Howe, in his description of the battle to Lord George Germain, confirms the location when he says that the Americans approached the British advance posts "by way of Vandewater's Height;" and Captain John Montresor, Howe's aide, who brought into action the only cannon used in the engagement, refers to the "action on Vandewater's Heights, near Harlaem."

Harman Vandewater lived at about the northeast corner of St. Luke's hospital grounds.

To this definite and authoritative evidence showing Morningside Heights to have been the scene of the battle, what does Dr. Emmet oppose, to substantiate his contention that the battlefield was near Trinity cemetery at 155th Street? This: (1) That in the summer of 1838 (68 years ago) the site of the battle was pointed out to him by his uncle who said it was near the present Trinity cemetery; (2) that Morningside Heights were so precipitous that nothing but a goat or active boy could climb or descend them; (3) that it was not likely that there was any buckwheat field near the present Columbia University on those heights, because George Pollock, who purchased a tract of land in this vicinity soon after the Revolution (it was in 1796-98), wrote a letter in which he

said he had cleared off the primitive forest which still covered this portion of the island; (4) that he, Dr. Emmet, distinctly remembers seeing some entrenchments in the vicinity of Trinity cemetery; (5) that no military relics have been found on Morningside Heights, while they have been found in abundance farther north; and (6) that "Harlem Heights" lay only on the north side of Harlem Plains, and therefore, that the battle of Harlem Heights must have been where he says it was.

With respect to the first argument, such evidence cannot weigh against the authorities which we have cited to the contrary. Human memory is lamentably treacherous, and readily confuses incidents. When one of the writers of this article started, about ten years ago, to locate the site of Fort Washington, he was directed by residents of the vicinity to half a dozen different places within a distance of two or three miles. The remains of the old fort were finally located, not by any aid received from the residents, but a careful study of maps, documents and local topography. It is possible that Dr. Emmet's informant had in mind the assault on Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, a portion of which battle *did* take place near Trinity cemetery.

Dr. Emmet's contention that Morningside (Vandewater) Heights were too precipitous to be ascended or descended, is controverted not only by the authorities already quoted, but by the maps of the period and Washington's writings. One map shows a farm road descending to the Hollow Way along the line of the present Claremont avenue; and a path or road going down the heights about opposite St. Luke's Hospital. A British map shows the line of the Hessian advance to the Battle of Fort Washington to have been by the former road.

His third contention that it was improbable that there was a buckwheat field on Vandewater Heights because the primeval forest was there until after the Revolution, is disproved by the fact that the Hoaglandt and Vandewater farms were there, and the preponderance of probability is in favor of the buckwheat field. Furthermore, George Clinton describing the battle, says specifically that it was there. With respect to the statement that this portion of the island was covered with primeval forest until after the Revolution, it is a well known fact, shown by the British records, that the island was so completely denuded of trees (except orchards) during the Revolution, that the British had not enough left to supply fire wood, and they had to break up some old ships to supply the deficiency.

The fourth argument, that Dr. Emmet distinctly remembers seeing entrenchments near 155th Street, proves nothing concerning the Battle of Harlem. He probably saw the remains of the second line of entrenchments which were built in September and October, 1776, to defend Washington Heights. This second line ran across the island at this point.

Fifthly, the absence of relics on Morningside Heights compared with their frequency further north, is equally inconclusive as an argument. With respect to the number of men engaged, the character of the arms employed, and the extent of the casualties involved, the Battle of Harlem was very much inferior to the battle of Fort Washington, which occurred further north, and consequently the proportion of battle relics would naturally be much smaller on Morningside Heights. In the Battle of Harlem the only cannon used were two three-pounder, British brass pieces, so that cannon balls would be very scarce. Furthermore, owing to the negligence or ignorance of those discovering relics on Morningside Heights, they probably were not preserved; while the northern part of the island has been systematically explored by the writers of this article and others, and the relics found have been preserved more carefully. Morningside Heights were laid out into streets and built up before Washington Heights, and unless antiquarians were on the lookout then, as now, very few objects would be saved. Still a third reason for this discrepancy in the number of relics found in the different localities, is to be found in the fact, amply demonstrated by the field-work of the writers of this article, that relics are not always most numerous on the place of conflict, but are frequently found in great abundance at places of entrenchment and on camp sites. There was good reason for finding relics at Trinity cemetery, as Dr. Emmet says, because the construction there of the second line of entrenchments by the Americans to defend Fort Washington employed a large number of men, and the place was the scene of a sharp fight on November 16. The relics near Trinity cemetery were as much of a camp order as of battle, and not nearly so numerous as relics found elsewhere. If the number of relics were to determine the location of the battle of Harlem, Dr. Emmet would be obliged to locate the site north of Fort Washington. His statement that "there could have been no fight at this point (Trinity cemetery) unless it was at the battle of Harlem," discloses his ignorance of the battle of Fort Washington.

Dr. Emmet's sixth contention, that the name Harlem Heights was applied to the hills north of Harlem Plains, is true; but only in part. It

was also applied, as we have previously stated, in a general way to the other heights bordering on Harlem Plains, and its employment to designate the engagement does not necessarily locate it near Trinity cemetery,

There are several other statements in Dr. Emmet's article which do not affect the question of the site of the battle of Harlem, but which may be commented upon.

There is no contemporary evidence that the earthworks which crossed the Bloomingdale Road near Grant's Tomb were thrown up during the Revolution. They were made in 1814, as shown by Gen. Swift's manuscript report and maps in the library of the New York Historical Society.

As to the route of the escaping Americans from the lower part of the island September 15, a critical examination of all available authorities disproves Dr. Emmet's claim that they all passed through McGown's Pass. Only Smallwood's detachment of Marylanders and the detachment at Horn's Hook which they were expressly detailed to cover, with possibly a few scattered fugitives, escaped by this route. All the rest, except the few who crossed the river to New Jersey, retreated by the North River road.

The boundary of Harlem towards New York City was a line drawn due South from about 130th Street on the Hudson River, to 74th Street on the East River. The line cut through Morningside Heights at about 112th Street. West of this line on the Hudson side lay De Key's triangular property, embracing all the heights south to about 105th Street. The common land to which Dr. Emmet refers, was not Harlem Plains or Flats, but a triangular space west of the line, mostly in Central Park. Therefore, Harlem Commons are totally different in location and character from the Flats or Plain.

It would be interesting to know the exact location of the ravine near Trinity cemetery to which Dr. Emmet refers. The only one, viz.: 158th Street, is to the north of the cemetery site, which would have involved the British making their way past a mile and a half of precipitous hillsides swarming with riflemen. Dr. Emmet then takes the British over the hilltop, across to Breakneck Hill on the King's Way, which is, however, at 147th Street. Trinity cemetery has no ravine in it, and its south side was the most abrupt and easily defensible part of the Heights; for which reason the second line of defence was there constructed and defended on November 16. If the British got in on that side of the heights on Sep-

tember 16, how is it that the Americans, later on, constructed no defences against a landing at the same spot? The 158th Street ravine lay half way between lines Nos. 2 and 3. And if the British got that far, half-way to Fort Washington, why were two lines, of the American defences of Fort Washington on the south, drawn across the heights south of that point?

Richards' account, preceding Dr. Emmet's and referred to by him, fits in exactly with the location of the fight of September 16 as described in Prof. Johnston's monograph. As to the burying incident mentioned by Richards, the evident reference is to the bodies having been brought into camp, that is, probably to 147th Street, up the King's Way from the Hollow Way, and the burial was probably at the sheltered bend near 145th Street. They may be under St. Nicholas Park yet.

In the postscript the Doctor refers to the Hessian advance under Knyphausen on November 16, as being from McGown's Pass. On the contrary, Knyphausen's men came from Kingsbridge and Fordham, and General Stirn's Hessian brigade on the south came over Columbia or Morningside Heights to the south end of Washington Heights, as shown by the British map before referred to.

In conclusion, we may renew our firm conviction, derived from a careful study of contemporary documents and British maps, and personal familiarity with local topography, that the site of the Battle of Harlem was in the Hollow Way of Manhattan and on the Heights of Morningside.

REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON,
EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL.

(Mr. Hall is Secretary of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, Mr. Bolton a trustee of the same Society, and both are members of the New York Historical Society. Their painstaking historical and archæological work, both in literature and in the field, is well-known and gives weight to their article.)

DR. EMMET'S REJOINDER

[I thank the editor of the *MAGAZINE OF HISTORY* for giving me the opportunity of reading the article of Messrs. Hall and Bolton before publication.—T. A. E.]

The object in writing my paper was to call attention to the uncertainty existing with many as to the exact locality of Harlem Heights, on and in the neighborhood of which the battle of September 16, 1776, was fought. I hope the subject will be investigated by those in doubt at greater length than these gentlemen seem to have done. I cannot undertake to do more than may be covered by this letter. I have neither the strength, the authorities at hand for investigation, nor the time, as within a few days I go South for the winter.

Messrs. Hall and Bolton may have quoted correctly the authorities cited by them, but they have not represented correctly my views, and from their paper it is evident they did not read mine with sufficient care to ascertain what I did write.

In the first instance, I did not misstate the relative position of the English and American lines, for I was correct, and we agree fully. I did not hold that the Battle of Harlem was fought in the vicinity of 155th Street, but that a flank movement was attempted in the neighborhood of what I suppose is the present site of Trinity cemetery. I was explicit in showing that the battle was, in my judgment, fought below the site of the present Convent of the Sacred Heart, at the Point of Rocks and along the irregular line of high ground to the north of the plain to the east of Manhattanville.

In this connection, I will state my belief that after all the excavating, nothing can be judged at the present time with accuracy as to where this line extended at the time of the battle. When I was a boy, the Point of Rocks extended so far to the south that it must have almost reached the line of the street now extending eastward from the foot of Claremont Heights. I recollect at one point on the road from Manhattanville to Harlem, this Point of Rocks seemed to almost shut out the valley and view of Manhattanville.

Again, I did not state I remembered seeing some intrenchments in the vicinity of Trinity cemetery, but I described the line of earthworks I saw as being in connection with those on the Point of Rocks.

I did not state that the Americans were encamped on Morningside Heights, nor on any portion of the high land to the south of the plain. On the contrary, I labored to show they could have been nowhere else but to the north of the extremity of the Point of Rocks, and all I wrote was in relation to the article published in the *Evening Post*. If in this connection there be anything in Lieut. Richards' account as quoted in the *Post* which "fits in exactly" from the standpoint of these gentlemen, as to the fight being on the Morningside Heights, it is certainly a *mis-fit*. I agree with them that the English troops, described by Richards as forming in line at sunrise at the foot of McGown's Pass, were not likely to have attempted to scale Morningside Heights. The fact of this force being at the foot of McGown's Pass goes to prove that they were there to cross the plain and make an attack on the American line, within which Richards' Connecticut regiment was stationed; and as he was with his regiment, which took part in the fight, it becomes evident that the battle was fought about the Point of Rocks.

If Morningside Height to Claremont, then held by the British, formed a part of Harlem Heights, and the American forces also held a portion of Harlem Heights to the north, it seems evident that the order to General Lee (referred to in my first article) would have been more explicit. The resolution of Congress, passed October 17, 1776, was: "Resolved, That General Lee be directed to repair to the camp on *the* Heights of Harlem, with leave, &c." The wording can only be construed from a logical point, as showing that the heights below Fort Washington were the Harlem Heights, and there could have been no other Harlem Heights but those occupied by the American forces.

The only foundation for any fighting on the heights to the south, rests on an encounter lasting but a few moments. Knowlton, before daylight, was sent by Washington, with a single company of his command, to get on the left flank of the British troops encamped on Vandewater Heights, and to reach that position by ascending the Hudson River bank at some distance to the south of the present grounds of Columbia University. Washington had received information that the enemy was forming in force at McGown's Pass for an attack, and Knowlton was, by this means, to cause a diversion, if possible, with the object of retarding the general movement. Unfortunately Knowlton's presence was discovered as soon as he reached the brow of the ascent, and he was forced to make a hasty retreat. Knowlton's party was followed down to the water by a

body of the enemy, which crossed the valley to the north, and later in the day attempted a flank movement by ascending a ravine, and was repulsed as described in my paper. This encounter of Knowlton's at daylight on Vandewater Heights, I assert can scarcely be termed a skirmish nor be considered as part of the battle of Harlem Heights, as the battle did not begin until late in the day, and lasted three or four hours. Moreover, the place of Knowlton's encounter was so far to the south of the Harlem line (possibly as far south as 94th Street) as to render it impossible to show any connection with Harlem Heights, the grounds of Columbia University, or Morningside Heights. I do not propose, nor is it necessary, to enter into any further detail of the battle, my only purpose, as already stated, being to locate the Harlem Heights on which and about which, the battle of Harlem was fought.

To show the confusion which exists as to this locality, even in the minds of Messrs. Hall and Bolton, I will quote a statement made in their paper: "The hill on which the most desperate fighting took place is identified by Major Lewis Morris, Jr., who wrote to his father on September 28: 'Monday morning an advanced party, Col. Knowlton's regiment, was attacked upon a height a little to the southwest of Day's tavern.' Day's tavern was on the line of the present 126th Street, two hundred feet west of Eighth Avenue. *This locates the fight on Morningside Heights,*" etc. I do not know what relation the site of Day's tavern may bear to Eighth Avenue, but I do know that it had no relation whatever with the noted buckwheat field near the Columbia grounds, nor with Morningside Heights. My recollection is quite clear in recalling the facts of the site of Day's tavern on the east side of the road, extending from McGown's Pass, along the foot of the present Morningside Heights to King's Bridge. It was situated some distance to the *northeast* of the Point of Rocks, and Morris's statement was correct. The Point of Rocks and other intrenchments on the different hills, forming the American line in this neighborhood, were "*a little to the southwest of Day's tavern.*" I believe the tavern was a mile to the north of any portion of Morningside Heights, and at this advanced point, Knowlton with the Connecticut troops were stationed, in the most direct line for the enemy from McGown's Pass.

Having reached this point in my task, which proved a fatiguing one, I was prompted to consult Mrs. Lamb's *History of New York City*, it being the only work in my present library from which I could obtain any

information relating to the Battle of Harlem Heights. To my satisfaction I found a tracing of Colton's map, which confirms the accuracy of my recollection in relation to the site of Day's tavern. In addition I found that in all essentials as to the wooded country, roads etc., I had been accurate; a remarkable circumstance, as I have had to trust to the impressions made by my observation and historical studies at a period which would doubtless antedate the birth of either of these gentlemen. Colton's map shows, as I stated, that there was no road at this time from these heights to the valley, and that only a pathway existed from the Claremont Heights along the course of the Bloomingdale road, which was not open in this neighborhood until after the Revolution. It does give, however, what was probably a farm road from Hoagland's house down into the King's Bridge road, at about 110th Street. After the Bloomingdale road was extended to Manhattanville, this one was probably closed, as it did not exist within my recollection.

Mrs. Lamb gives a confused account in relation to Major Morris' letter, but this is evidently an oversight, if taken in connection with her full account of the battle. So fully does she consider every authority in locating the site of Harlem Heights, and her deductions are so in accord with my position, that it is unnecessary for me to take further exceptions to other inaccurate statements made by these gentlemen. In conclusion, I will state that under the circumstances I feel that their prologue written as a warning to the public as to the accuracy of my statement, is, to say the least, uncalled for.

THOS. ADDIS EMMET, M. D.

(I omitted to correct a misstatement at the beginning of the paper by these gentlemen: My article was written for the *Evening Post* last winter, while I was South, and in answer to an editorial which had appeared shortly before, but that paper declined to publish it. The editor probably labored under the impression that Messrs. Hall and Bolton knew all about it; and that the buckwheat field could not have been anywhere else but in the grounds of Columbia University, while in fact the *real* buckwheat field was situated far to the north, near the real Day's tavern.)

LETTERS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON

I

[It was our intention to print this matter in February, but a few of the letters having recently appeared in another magazine, we begin the publication of the series now, and will continue it next month.

The collection (which is for sale by Mr. George H. Richmond, New York) is of remarkable value and Mr. Hellman's prefatory notes add materially to its interest. Of the thirty-five letters, twenty-six are unpublished.—Ed.]

PREFATORY NOTE

A LITTLE more than half a century ago the Legislature of the State of New York purchased the "Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York," publishing them many years later in six thick volumes. The late George W. Clinton of Buffalo, editor-in-chief of these manuscripts and documents, after a most thorough investigation made this significant statement: "Several letters of Washington to George Clinton are wanting; of which I especially regret the absence of one or two in which it seems he must have stated some grand movement he had in contemplation against the enemy, but which is not disclosed in George Clinton's answers assuring him of hearty and strong co-operation."

In this connection the New York State Historian in his preface to "The Clinton Papers," falls into a serious error in stating that "The missing letters of Washington have, with two or three exceptions, been secured by the State Historian from the correspondence of the statesmen of the time, as published by George P. Putnam's Sons, New York." As a matter of fact, although the contents of a few of these letters have been ascertained in this manner, the whereabouts of the originals, as well as the contents of the majority of the series, was only recently revealed by the death of Wm. S. Appleton, a Boston collector, and the consequent public auction of his library.

Not only are many letters of Washington to George Clinton missing in the six Clinton volumes, but also many equally interesting letters of the Commander-in-Chief to Brigadier-General James Clinton are conspicu-

ously absent. These letters to the two famous brothers were in many cases inter-related, bearing upon campaigns and actions in which both the Clintons played prominent parts. Strange to say, when this collection was recently offered at auction in the Appleton sale in Boston, the catalogue made no mention of the fact that these letters, with few exceptions, are entirely unpublished—the very series that is missing from the Clinton papers owned by New York State.

Of the thirty-five letters now in our possession, items numbered *VI*, *XIX*, *XXI*, *XXVII*, and *XXXV* have been entirely published, and items numbered *IV*, *VII*, *XXIII* and *XXXIII* mainly published, the interesting postscripts of these four letters remaining unpublished. The other twenty-six letters have never been printed, and form an unpublished series of historic Revolutionary manuscripts such as may never be met with again.

As will be found from the following pages, these letters supply a lost chapter in the story of that event of paramount importance in the history of the world—the American Revolution. It is a chapter written by the chief actor in that great drama. It throws a stronger light than ever upon the many-sided character of George Washington; it shows his caution, coupled with boldness; his unfaltering zeal for the American cause, his bravery and brilliancy, his watchfulness and mastery of detail—in a word it gives a perfect picture of the “Father of his Country.” These letters enlighten several dark places in the history of those troublous times and are valuable as helping to complete a story that cannot be too often, too fully, or too truthfully told.

All these letters were dictated and signed by Washington. The body of many of them is in the autograph of Alexander Hamilton and of Col. David Humphreys. The collection contains so very much of interest that it seems invidious to particularize, yet special attention may be called to Letters *X-XXVII*, inclusive, which constitute an unpublished series having to do with the successful Sullivan-Clinton expedition against the Indians, after the Cherry Valley massacre; Letter *XX*, which is probably the lengthiest unpublished important war letter of Washington in existence Letter *XXXIII*, Washington’s notable appeal to the Governors of the States; and Letter *XXXV*, the famous “Newburgh Address,” composed by Washington when he retired from command of the army.

To avoid confusion, George Clinton is alluded to as “Governor” and James as “General,” although both brothers held the rank of Brigadier-General.

G. S. HELLMAN.

GEORGE CLINTON

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE REVOLUTION, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
STATE, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

George Clinton was born in Little Britain, Ulster County, N. Y., in 1739, and died in Washington in 1812. On his return from a privateering cruise in 1758, he accompanied his father and brother James in the expedition against Fort Frontenac as a lieutenant, and on the disbanding of the colonial forces he studied in the law-office of William Smith, and settled in his birthplace, receiving shortly afterward a clerkship from the colonial governor, Admiral George Clinton, a connection of the family. He was elected in 1768 to the New York Assembly, where he so resolutely maintained the cause of the colonies against the Crown that on April 22, 1775, he was elected by the New York Provincial Convention one of the delegates to the second Continental Congress, taking his seat on May 15. He did not vote on the question of independence, as the members of the New York Provincial Congress, which he represented, did not consider themselves authorized to instruct their delegates to act on that question. They purposely left it to the new Provincial Congress, which met at White Plains, July 8, 1776, and which, on the next day, passed unanimously a resolution approving of the declaration. Clinton was likewise prevented from signing the declaration with the New York delegation on July 15 by receiving on the 7th of that month an imperative call from Washington to take post in the Highlands, with rank as general of militia. In the spring of 1777 he was a deputy to the New York Provincial Congress, which framed the first State constitution, but was again called into the field by Congress, and appointed March 25, 1777, a brigadier-general in the Continental army. Assisted by his brother James, he made a brilliant, though unsuccessful defense, October 6, 1777, of the Highland forts, Clinton and Montgomery, against Sir Henry Clinton. He was chosen first governor of the State, April 20, 1777, and in 1780 was re-elected to the office, which he retained by successive elections until 1795. From the period of his first occupation of the gubernatorial chair until its final relinquishment he exhibited great energy of character, and in the defense of the State rendered important services, both in a civil and military capacity. In 1780 he thwarted an expedition, led by Sir John Johnson, Brant, and Cornplanter, into the Mo-

hawk Valley, and thus saved the settlers from the horrors of the torch and scalping-knife. He was active in preventing encroachments on the territory of New York by the settlers of the New Hampshire Grants, and was largely instrumental with Timothy Pickering in concluding, after the war, lasting treaties of peace with the Western Indians. In 1783 he accompanied Washington and Hamilton on a tour of the northern and western posts of the State, on their return visiting, with Schuyler as a guide, the High-Rock Spring at Saratoga. While on this trip he first conceived the project of a canal between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, which he recommended to the Legislature in his speech opening the session of 1791, an idea that was subsequently carried out to its legitimate end in the Erie and Champlain canals by his nephew, Governor De Witt Clinton. At the time of Shays's Rebellion, 1787, he marched in person, at the head of the militia, against the insurgents, and by this prompt action greatly aided the Governor of Massachusetts in quelling that outbreak. In 1788 he presided at the State convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, the adoption of which he opposed, believing that too much power would thereby pass to the Federal Congress and the Executive. At the first presidential election he received three of the electoral votes cast for the vice-presidency. In 1792, when Washington was re-elected, Clinton had for the same office fifty votes, and at the sixth presidential election, 1809-13, he received six ballots from New York for the office of President. In 1800 he was chosen to the Legislature after one of the most hotly contested elections in the annals of the State, and in 1801 he was again governor. In 1804 he was elected Vice-President of the United States, which office he filled until his death. His last important public act was to negative, by his casting vote in the Senate, the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank in 1811. He took great interest in education, and in his message at the opening session of the Legislature of 1795 he initiated the movement for the organization of a common-school system. As a military man Clinton was bold and courageous, and endowed with a will that rarely failed him in sudden emergencies. As a civil magistrate he was a staunch friend to literature and social order. In private life he was affectionate, winning, though dignified in his manner, strong in his dislikes, and warm in his friendships. The vast influence that he wielded was due more to sound judgment, marvelous energy, and great moral force of character, than to any specially high-sounding or brilliant achievements.—*From "The Cyclopædia of American Biography."*

JAMES CLINTON

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE REVOLUTION, MEMBER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

James Clinton, the father of De Witt Clinton, whose name is reverently cherished as the benefactor to the great State of New York and the friend and patron of internal improvements, as also the brother of Governor George Clinton, was born in Ulster County, N. Y., on August 9, 1736. Very early he took a liking to the hardy exercise and rude sports of the backwoodsman, and when quite young had already made one of several parties of trappers and hunters. It was in these excursions that he learned the habits and character of the neighboring Indians, which knowledge was of so much use to him in the subsequent wars. On the breaking out of the old French war, in 1755, he enlisted under Bradstreet, and was by that brave soldier made a captain the following year. In 1763 he was placed in command of a battalion raised for home defense, and subsequently he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Colonel Clinton, together with his brother George, the Governor of New York during the Revolution, were among the first to espouse the cause of the patriots and to take up arms in defense of their rights. In 1775 he was joined to the army that was to be led against Quebec, and accompanied the brave Montgomery on his luckless and fatal expedition, and returned with the forlorn remnant of that devoted army. Here his qualities as a good soldier were put to the severest test, and were found equal to the emergency.

In 1776 Colonel Clinton was elevated to the rank of brigadier-general. He was placed in command, successively, of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, which he was compelled to abandon to the enemy after a most obstinate defense. He barely escaped with his life, and returned to the headquarters of the army, where his services were soon after required to lead a formidable force against the Indians, who, under Brant and the infamous Butlers, were spreading devastation with fire and sword throughout western New York.

In 1779 General Sullivan was ordered to proceed against this savage foe, whose bloody cruelty at Cherry Valley and other places had roused the indignation of the country to the highest pitch. General Clinton was

united with Sullivan in this expedition, but led a separate force, which was to unite with that of Sullivan at Tioga. After much labor he reached, in July, the foot of Otsego Lake, around whose flat shores many of the Indians made their homes and raised their corn. It being a very dry season, he found the outlet of the lake quite too shallow to allow his boats to pass. In this dilemma he resorted to the expedient of damming the mouth of the outlet, which caused the water to overflow the banks, and thus to destroy the crops which were just then reaching the milk, and filling the savages with astonishment, who could not imagine by what cause such a sudden flood should overwhelm them in the middle of an unusually dry season. When the waters in the lake were sufficiently swollen the obstructions were removed, and his bateaux passed triumphantly on the bosom of the torrent, and thus he was enabled to effect his junction with Sullivan at Tioga. The object of the expedition was fully gained, and Brant and his brutal coadjutors, the brothers Butler, with their savage auxiliaries, were utterly scattered and dismayed. Many unnecessary cruelties were practised, and much valuable property was destroyed; but this was deemed necessary to inspire the minds of these savage foes with a sense of the prowess of American arms, and to deter them from further bloody atrocities. Yet it must forever cause the cheek of every humane American to tingle at the remembrance of the cruel deeds which were done by our fathers' hands in that relentless and bloody expedition.

During the remainder of the War of the Revolution, General Clinton held his headquarters at Albany, and was attached to the northern army, where he rendered very important aid in bringing to a successful issue the great struggle for independence. On retiring from the field of strife, he settled on his estate near Newburgh, Orange County, N. Y., where he lived many years in the enjoyment of the honors he had reaped, filling various civil offices, and highly respected by all who knew him. On his retirement he received the public thanks of his native State and the nation, and he went down to his grave with all his honors clustering thick upon his head. He died on December 22, 1812, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.—*From "The American Portrait Gallery."*

THE WASHINGTON LETTERS

I

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 25, 1776

Three page folio. From Washington in New York to Clinton at Fort Constitution, giving a vivid picture of the difficulty of fortifying this important post on the Hudson River, and of the paucity of necessary war supplies. This fort was on an island opposite West Point, and thus blocked the way to Albany.

"I observed by the Returns that your regiment is still extremely deficient in Arms, which is a circumstance highly distressing at this time—as I have no prospect of getting any, unless some unforeseen fortunate event should cast up that I know nothing of. I request you to have no dependence on me for a supply, and that you will use every possible method to procure what you want from the country people, or whensoever they can be had by purchasing them."

Entirely unpublished.

II

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 29 AND JULY 1, 1776

One page folio. In this letter, written from New York only a few days before the Declaration of Independence, Washington informs Clinton at Fort Constitution of the approach of the English fleet under General Howe, and of the necessity of preparing for the possible advance of the English up the Hudson (North) River.

"New York June 29, 1776.

"Sir: The Committee inform me that no evidence has appeared against Fletcher Mathews, and desire his papers may be delivered to him, which I would have you comply with, likewise the request of the Committee of Newburgh and New Windsor. I have to inform you of the arrival of about 50 sail this day at the Hook, this is part of a fleet of 130 which left Halifax under General Howe the 9th Inst. Would have you make all possible preparation in case the enemy should have in view to push some of their Frigates up the North River, to give them a proper reception."

"July 1st| 130 sail have arrived at the Hook."

Entirely unpublished.

III

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, SEPTEMBER 12, 1776

One page folio. Both George and James Clinton were stationed in the Highlands and in charge of the forts there, which finally fell before the forces of the English General Clinton on February 6, 1777. The present letter of Washington from New York has to do with these important forts on the Hudson. The difficulty of getting labor and arms is apparent. At the time of the present letter George Clinton was keeping his eye on British movements around New York City, while James was at Fort Montgomery. On p. 336, vol. i, of the "Clinton Papers," the letter from James to George Clinton is published, giving an account of affairs at the fort, and written on September 8, the date of General Clinton's similar letter to Washington.

"Sir: I have before me your two letters of the 8th and 10th Inst. The first inclosing Returns of the number of men and Ordnance and Artillery Stores at Forts Montgomery and Constitution; the last, copies of two letters from the Convention of the State of New York, by which it appears they had ordered in 600 Militia as a reinforcement to the two posts, and which I hope will put them in a proper State of Defence. I ordered Col'l Knox to provide and forward the different articles wanted by you in the Ordnance Department. . . . The Convention having ordered an Armourer with proper tools to be fixed at your posts, I hope what arms are at present out of Repair will soon be made fit for use. We must make every shift with our old arms till we can get better supplied."

Entirely unpublished.

IV

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, APRIL 26, 1777

Two page quarto. This letter from Headquarters at Morristown was written to George Clinton, who six days previously had been elected Governor of New York State. In the catalogue of the Appleton Collection this was erroneously designated as a letter to James Clinton. The main part of it is printed in Sparks' (vol. iv, p. 398), but the postscript is entirely unpublished. These few lines are of interest in showing Washington's confidence in Clinton's judgment. Frequently we find him asking the more distinguished brother to decide whether certain instructions should be forwarded to James.

"Dear Sir, I wrote you on the 23d Inst. communicating intelligence lately received respecting the enemy's designs up the North River. A letter from Gen'l. McDougall this moment received, places their intentions beyond the power of misconception. Several Transports have anchored at Dobbs Ferry—and mean, in my opinion, to divert our attention, if possible, from their movements towards the Delaware. At any rate they may attempt to make some incursion into the Country back of this place, and if they can, seize the passes thro' the mountains, thereby aiming to cut off the communication between the army here, and the North River. To frustrate such a dis'gn effectually, I must repeat my desire, that you would post as good a Body of Troops in the Mountains, West of the River, as you can collect and spare from the Garrison—this will serve not only to retain our possession of the passes, but will awe the disaffected & protect our friends."

"P. S. If your brother's attention is particularly confined to the posts on the River, would it not be attended with greater good if he would take charge of the Troops designed for the passes within mentioned, while you are confined to the Forts. If you think with me, please write to him on this head."

V

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 8, 1777

One page folio, giving instructions regarding the opposition to the advance of the English up the Hudson River, written by Washington, at Headquarters at Middle Brook, to Clinton, at Fort Constitution. Shortly afterward the fort had to be abandoned.

"I have to request that you will keep as large a body of the Militia as you can collect, and have them in as good order as Circumstances will permit, in case Gen'l Howe should Incline up North River," etc.

Entirely unpublished.

VI

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, AUGUST 13, 1777

One page folio. This letter from Headquarters in Bucks County refers to the campaign of General Burgoyne, whose ultimate defeat was one of the most cheering events of the early years of the war. Washington refers complimentarily to General Gates, who, on the other hand, seldom lost an opportunity to speak disparagingly of the Commander-in-Chief. This letter is printed in Sparks, vol. v, p. 28.

"Dear Sir, Your vigilance in providing a proper force to oppose the enemy, and the alacrity with which the militia have assembled, afford me great satisfaction. If your efforts are seasonable and skillfully seconded by your eastern neighbours, we may hope that General Burgoyne will find it equally difficult either to make a further progress, or to effect a retreat. You are the best judge with respect to the length of service to be required from the militia. However, as their assistance is a resource, which must be sparingly employed, I would have them detained no longer than is absolutely necessary. The excuse of want of confidence in the general officers, which has hitherto been alleged by the eastern States, for withholding those reinforcements from the northern army, which were expected from them, will be obviated by the presence of Major-General Gates. The resolves of Congress, which relate to the recruiting of the army, will have reached you before this time, and you will have acted in consequence. By a resolve of the 3d of August, the commanding officer of the northern department has discretionary power to make requisitions on the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. There will, therefore, be a concurrence of authority in yourself and General Gates, which you will arrange between yourselves."

(To be continued.)



INDIAN TORTURE POST IN INDIANA

THE allusion in the foregoing reminiscences¹ to the old Indian torture stake that stood within the present bounds of Delaware county is one of the few testimonies to the existence of that barbarous relic. Of the various local histories and books of reminiscence only one, as far as we know, makes mention of it. This is the Rev. W. C. Smith's "Indiana Miscellanies." Mr. Smith describes the stake as of oak, about ten feet high, with the rough outline of a human face cut on either side. The fires, according to this writer, had been kindled in a circle around the stake at a distance of some five or six feet. When he saw it the ashes formed a perceptible ridge, and an outer circle, where the Indians had danced, was packed so hard that nothing would grow there.

By inquiring through the columns of the *Indiana Farmer*, the present writer elicited three communications that contained considerable interesting information touching the all but forgotten tradition of the old torture post, and these we reproduce in the order in which they appeared in the *Farmer*.

At the suggestion of Mr. George S. Cottman, of Irvington, I would with your permission add my testimony in regard to that old Indian stake in Delaware county. Sometime in the summer of 1841 or '42 father, mother and myself visited relatives then living in Yorktown, a small village about five or six miles west of Muncie. On our return home, then in Union county, Indiana, we were accompanied by Israel Shoemaker, brother of the late James Shoemaker before referred to, who was well acquainted in the vicinity, and when about half way from Yorktown to Muncie he pointed out to us the historic place now under consideration. The surrounding grounds were to some extent grown up with timber and underbrush, leaving a space of some 25 or 30 feet in diameter destitute of

¹ At that time (1816) the Indians had a stake or post, around which they burned their prisoners, in the adjoining county of Delaware. It was then near where Muncie now is. I saw this post in 1833. It was considerably burned and charred for several feet above the ground, and a rise or mound of 18 or 20 inches around the post was overgrown with blue grass. It was then a standing monument of savage cruelty.—From Reminiscences of the late James Shoemaker of Putnam County, Ind. *Indiana Farmer*, Dec. 10, 1898.

any growth except a little grass. The stake or post had been about seven or eight feet high and about 16 or 18 inches in diameter, but had rotted off at the top of the ground and fallen down. A much-used path led from the road to the post. There is no betrayal of memory in the above statement. Although many are the years that have come and gone, my recollection of the scene is as vivid as those of yesterday. As to how late this post was used I am unable to state.

ISAAC CARTWRIGHT.

FILLMORE, IND.

At your request for information about the old Indian torture stake in Delaware county, I will give you and your readers the facts as I saw them in the year 1842. In the fall of that year, in company with my father and uncle, I journeyed to Delaware county from Fayette county. As we arrived within three or four miles south from Muncie my father asked me if I wished to take a look at the torture stake where the Indians used to torture their prisoners. As I was anxious to do so we left the team in care of my uncle and walked a short distance south from the main road through a beautiful grove of wild plum trees and underbrush. No doubt this was the same path that friend Isaac Cartwright speaks of. We found the circle with a carpet of fine blue grass growing over the ground. The post was lying on the ground in the center of the circle on a heap of fine coals. The post I should suppose had been about eight feet high from the ground. About five or six feet from the ground there was a portion of the post cut out or rounded out, as my father explained to me at the time, for the purpose of fitting the prisoner's head in at the time of torture; as the Indians bound their prisoners fast to the stake at all times of burning.

A few years after this date I saw an old black and charred stake in the court house at Muncie, and was informed that it was the same torture stake that I saw in the circle south of Muncie. No doubt some pioneer of Delaware can give you a more full explanation of it.

GEO. W. EDDY.

COLUMBIA, IND.

Mr. Chas. Fullhart handed me a copy of the *Indiana Farmer* of February 4, 1899, and cited me to an article written by Mr. Isaac Cartwright, concerning the location of the old Indian torture stake, and re-

quested me to correct some mistakes in the article, as I am the owner, for more than fifty years, of the land on which the historic stake stood, three miles southeast of the city of Muncie in Center Township, Delaware County, Indiana, on the old Richmond and Logansport State road. I first saw the stake in 1832. It was then standing, but somewhat inclined to the southeast. It was some charred by the burning of the fagots. It stood near the center of the Indian village named Munsey, after the Indian chief. The place is now called Old Muncie or Old Town Hill. Soon after the tragedy, the Indians vacated the place and settled on the site where Muncie now stands, and called it New Muncie. The stake was eight or ten inches in diameter, and during the campaign of 1840 of William Henry Harrison for the Presidency, the Whig party took the stake away and sent parts of it to every State in the Union as a token of respect to him as an Indian fighter. The stake or post fell to the ground about 1836 or 1838. It stood fifty feet south of the road and a well-beaten path led each way to the post through the dense undergrowth that had grown up after the evacuation of the village. About two acres had been entirely cleared off. I first plowed the ground in 1861 and could tell where every hut had stood by the ground being burned. The huts had been built in a circle with the Council House in the center near where the post stood. The village stood on an elevation of 100 feet above White river with a deep gully on the southwest, and sloping gently to the south eighty rods to a creek called Juber, after an Indian chief. Beyond this creek forty rods stood an Indian trading post. Around this, several acres had been cleared and cultivated in corn. What I have written is from my own observation.

I will write a few lines from tradition. The most certain account of the burning at the stake I got from my mother. She lived in Kentucky, near Lexington. The three men all lived where she was raised. I have forgotten the names of the two who escaped. The one that was burned was Smith. They were a scouting party from Gen. Wayne's command. The Indians captured them near where Hagerstown now stands and brought them here, and held a council of war over them and decided to burn Smith in the presence of the other two, for some crime they had done. They were accused of killing a squaw and wounding another. Smith was tied to the post and the fagots placed around him. The other two men were tied near by with raw hide strings. Just at that time there came up a most terrific rain and thunder storm. It was then night and the Indians repaired to their huts. The raw hide strings became so wet

that they stretched till the other two men got loose, but the lightning betrayed them before they had time to loosen Smith. The Indians gave chase, following them by the lightning flashes to the creek above mentioned where they leaped over a large tree that had fallen and escaped in the darkness. The Indians abandoned the chase. The men were nine days in reaching their home in Kentucky. They lived on roots and whatever game they could catch in the unbroken forests. This traditional narrative is closely corroborated by an Indian by the name of Jake, of the Musco tribe. His wife, Sally, and his son, James Musco, not being friendly with the other tribes, remained here with the first white settlers in April, 1820. The old folks soon died and James lived and worked among the whites many years in this neighborhood. He was quite old when he died, and I helped inter him in the Rees cemetery.

SAMUEL CECIL.

MUNCIE, IND.

[After the appearance of these communications we received from Miss Florence Cowing, of Muncie, some letters gleaned from various pioneers of the locality. Mr. Cecil, she said, possessed many relics found on the site of "Oldtown," among them being silver brooches and rings, an iron tomahawk with "Montreal, Canada," marked on it, and a large iron kettle that was found beneath the stump of a mulberry tree. The roots had forced the bottom out of the kettle but the side remained intact, with a coating of grease upon it. The village the whites called Oldtown was, she gathered, called Ontainink by the Indian residents. These were a branch of the Delaware tribe known as the Munseys or Munsees. The name is said to have been derived from Minsi, an Indian word meaning wolf. A chief called Munsey or Montse was also remembered by some of Miss Cowing's reminiscents. If there was such a chief it may be considered as probable that the band got its name from him. For the burning of three Indians by this band in 1806 see Dillon, p. 425.—Ed.]

Indiana Magazine of History.



EARTHQUAKES IN NEW ENGLAND

NEW ENGLAND earthquakes worth noticing are rare enough, about one every twenty years being a rough average for shakes that can be generally felt, but there are about two shakes every year of some sort, mostly so slight as not to be noticed, except by the expert observer. The shake on October 21 was a fair sample of the worst New England earthquakes, just enough to be noticed generally in some one section, as around Portland, Me., this time. About 400 shocks have been recorded in New England since the first settlement.

So far as records go there have been only three earthquakes that were really enough to scare people. They came on June 2, 1638, October 29, 1727, and November 18, 1755. October 20, 1871, brought a lively shake to Boston and the suburbs, and there was another on August 10, 1884. On May 26, 1897, the northern portion of New England was shaken and Montreal had quite a scare. July 15, 1905, brought another shake, noticed in western Maine, particularly in Jackson, N. H. It came in the height of the summer resort season, and at 4:55 A. M., suddenly waking many of the summer boarders in the White Mountains. Most of them reported mirrors rattling and shaking as the most noticeable incident. None of these latter group did any damage. The nearest really big earthquake to New England was the Charleston (S. C.), shock on August 31, 1886, that was barely perceptible hereabouts.

A graphic account of the earthquake on October 20, 1871, is given by Isaac Y. Chubbuck of this city, who has kept a record of these happenings for years. He was standing at 11:30 A. M., in the door of his machine shop, then located on Tremont Street, opposite Hammond Street. On the corner of Hammond and Tremont Streets a big apartment house was being erected, and was full of workmen. Suddenly, Mr. Chubbuck says, he felt giddy, and looking around, saw the hanging lights in his shop swinging.

"I was only alarmed for my health," he says, "thinking it was some symptom of sickness rather than any real swinging of the lamps. But looking across the street, I saw the workmen pouring out of the new

building; piling out anyhow, and shouting warning to the rest that the building was falling. No harm came except the scare, and I was at once reassured about my health. It was my first experience with an earthquake, and I would never have believed it was one if those men had not been scared, attributing it otherwise to momentary illness."

The shock on August 10, 1884, was very generally noticed around Boston. Vases on mantelpieces were reported overturned, falling generally in a north-south direction. There was only one shock, at about 3 P. M. On October 17, 1860, many stone walls and a few old chimneys were reported shaken down by an earthquake in Canada and northern New England. This is said to have had several very slight shocks at somewhat regular intervals for two or three hours; this fact being advanced, to account for such damage as was done. Only a few people seem to have noticed the earthquake, though those that did agreed fairly well on the "several shocks."

Bradford, in his history of New England, gives a lively account of the earthquake of June, 1638. "This year (1638)," he says, "about ye 1 or 2 of June was a great and fearfull earthquake. It came with a rumbling noise or low murmure like unto remote thunder." Gov. Winthrop records it as coming at 2 P. M., and that there were two heavy shocks that day, with several smaller vibrations during the following twenty days. The original two shocks seemed to him to last for four minutes. Dishes were rattled on pantry shelves, and many people ran out of their houses in alarm. Winthrop appears to have been an acute observer of earthquakes, for he notes one on March 5, 1642, that no one else recorded.

A word to be said about these old records is that a great deal depended on there being somebody, not only able to recognize an earthquake, but who would put it down at once in black and white. There was, for instance, Rev. Matthias Plant, settled at Newbury from 1727 to 1741, who was an expert in earthquakes apparently, and who recorded everything at once. The recorded earthquakes for that period all count for Newbury therefore, though it may be supposed that if the shocks amounted to anything at Newbury, they were probably felt at Boston. Later in the century, there was a minister at East Haddam, Conn., with a similar habit, and practically all there is of earthquakes in New England during his time only tells of shocks at East Haddam.

Some of the early diaries refer to the "great" earthquake of January 31, 1660, but no damage was done, apparently. February 5 and 6,

1663, there were severe earthquakes in the St. Lawrence valley, recorded by the Jesuits, and the shocks continued at intervals until July of that year. Thirty-two shocks in two days are recorded. November 8, 1727, Mr. Plant said pewter and chinaware were shaken off the pantry shelves in Newbury, chimneys were shaken down, and that for a few minutes it was difficult to stand up.

October 29 of the same year there was an earthquake referred to so generally in the diaries and histories of that time, that Mr. Chubbuck thinks it was the greatest earthquake that ever visited New England. An old diarist, Stephen Jacques, says of it: "On the 29th day of October, it being Sabbath day, there was a terrible earthquake." Bricks were shaken out of walls, chimneys fell, and in low, marshy lands, there were small spouts of sand thrown up. Wells are said to have tasted bad for some weeks after it. Shocks are recorded for this year on January 3, 24, 28, 29, 30; February 21 and 29; March 17 and 19; April 18; May 17, 22 and 24; June 6 and 11; July 3 and 23.

At 11 A. M., September 15, 1732, there was a violent earthquake at Montreal that was felt slightly in Boston, and that stopped a clock at Annapolis, Md. December 17, 1737, a few bricks were shaken out of Boston chimneys by a slight shock. December 6, 1741, there was a noisy earthquake around Dedham and Walpole, or so say people there who took the trouble to note, but no damage was done.

What is generally regarded as the most violent earthquake ever felt in New England, or at least around Boston, was on November 18, 1755. It was an echo of the great earthquake at Lisbon, November 1 of that year, when the city was destroyed, causing the greatest loss of life known in modern times by an earthquake visitation. The shock appears to have taken seventeen days to cross the ocean, when what are now known as waves in the crust of the earth began to be felt in New England. They continued for several days, at first comparatively slight, rapidly growing more severe, and slowly dying out.

Old stone walls were shaken down in the country; chimneys toppled, particularly if at all old; a distiller's tank, newly made, burst in Boston; wells dried up in many places, and in other wells the water became considerably deeper, many acquiring a bad taste that was difficult to remedy. Repeated cleaning out seemed to do little good in some of them. One of the most striking incidents of this earthquake was the fall of the weather vane on Faneuil Hall.

In Newbury an observer records that about twenty yards from his house there were several small eruptions, the largest from a hole about twelve inches long and three inches wide. They threw up large quantities of water, and altogether about ten cartloads of a strange sort of earth "compressible as flour and of a white complexion."

The Boston *Evening Post* of November 24, 1755, in an editorial, comments on the earthquake as follows: "As God in his holy Providence hath been most awfully shaking the Earth whereby many houses and Chimneys, particularly in this town, are prodigiously weakened; I would recommend it to the inhabitants that they would employ proper Persons to sweep and examine their Chimneys."

In Scituate, one Joseph Bailey's house was severely shaken, the chimney demolished, ceiling fractured, drawers of bureaus thrown open, and seventy square feet of cellar wall thrown down.

May 16, 1791, brought a severe earthquake in western New England. The East Haddam minister records 100 shocks during the night. There was a severe shock November 28, 1814, recorded at North Adams, and probably felt elsewhere, the man at North Adams being the only one to record it.

New England is not well served in the matter of exact observation of earthquakes. There is not a single seismograph to record the shocks in the region, and nowadays scientists pay no attention to observations not made by the delicate tracing pen of the pendulums of their seismographs. Major C. E. Dutton, U. S. A., an expert seismologist, says of these instruments: "A seismograph is a very delicate, costly, and complicated instrument. Its instalment requires great care and skill, its attendance is expensive, and a severe draught on the patience of the observer. The probability of securing from it a valuable record of an earthquake is usually very small. Instruments adapted to light or moderate quivers of the earth are unsuited to more forcible ones, and a severe or destructive shake is apt to wreck the entire establishment. Observed data, in order to be most useful for seismic study and analysis, ought to be numerous and well distributed over the affected area."

Boston Herald.

THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

CHAPTER XX

A HIT AND A MISS

CATALINA, a few days or rather, as I believe, the very next day after the appearance of the will-o'-the-wisp, went to Albany on a visit of a week to one of her friends. It was customary in those days to make little journeys as well as great ones on horseback, and Catalina was fond of an exercise in which she excelled. In returning from this visit she was caught in a heavy shower, which obliged her to change her dress, and the maid had placed the wet garments on an old-fashioned high chair, just before her chamber window, for the purpose of drying.

"What, *you* here!" cried Ariel, who had just entered through the garden, as usual, that he might have a chance of reconnoitering the kitchen; "you here!—why I'll swear I saw either you or your ghost sitting at the window as I came in."

Catalina smiled, and explained the cause of his mistake.

"By Jove!" cried Ariel, "I must get your woman to dress me up a scarecrow for my cornfield, for I never saw anything more natural."

About ten in the evening of that day, as the whole family, together with Sybrandt and Ariel—the latter, as usual, fast asleep in his chair—were sitting around the supper-table, they were startled by the report of a gun close to the rear of the house, as it seemed, followed by a loud barking of the dogs. Sybrandt and Ariel ran out of the back door to see what was the matter, and found the whole population of the kitchen in great commotion, talking all together, each one telling what they knew or imagined. One declared that the gun was fired from the little copsewood, another from behind the raspberry bushes, a third from behind the garden fence, and a fourth was sure he saw a man jump over the fence immediately after the report of the gun. As usual in such cases, it was impossible to come at the truth, and as no harm seemed to have been done, most people came to the conclusion that none was intended. On returning to her room, Catalina found the old high stuffed damask chair on which her wet garments had been

placed to dry, lying on the floor. It seemed to have been violently overturned, but her maid solemnly declared she had not been in the room since her mistress left it, and the whole household declared the same. The mystery therefore remained unexplained.

The next morning, however, when the maid came to fold up the dress heretofore described, she was astonished to find it perforated with round holes in two several places.

"Lord, young missee," exclaimed she, "what have you done to your riding-habit? It's all full of holes, I declare!" Catalina was puzzled to death. She tried to recollect where and how it was possible they could have come there, but nothing occurred to account for them. In examining the old chair to see if there was anything there that might throw light on the matter, Catalina at length observed a small hole in the damask, about the size of those in her riding-habit, into which she ran her taper finger, and feeling something hard, with some little difficulty drew forth a leaden bullet. The maid shrieked, and the young lady turned pale at the association of circumstances that instantly presented themselves to her mind, accompanied by the recollection of the strange appearances she had witnessed a few nights before.

The little maid was eagerly running to exhibit the bullet to Madam Vancour and the colonel, when Catalina stopped and directed her to remain where she was. The young lady then sat down and reflected on the course it was proper to pursue. She knew the uneasiness, nay, misery, she would inflict on her mother especially, by communicating circumstances which seemed sufficiently to indicate she had some secret enemy who sought her life; and doubted whether any measures that might be adopted to secure the assassin or protect her in future from his designs would be effectual. At length Sybrandt occurred to her, as one who might most secretly investigate this affair, and accord her in the meantime protection as well as advice. Accordingly she resolved to communicate the whole affair to him the first opportunity, enjoining the little maid to silence at the same time, under penalty of her highest displeasure. The little maid was sadly mortified at losing the opportunity of telling such a wonderful story, but being greatly attached to her young mistress, to whom she had been given at the moment of her birth, she obeyed reluctantly.

Sybrandt came over soon after to inquire if any new discoveries had been made, for he could not help cherishing certain vague sus-

pictions that there must be something more than chance or fancy in the discharge of the gun, and the appearances observed by Catalina as heretofore described. Catalina invited him to walk in the garden, and there disclosed all the particulars as recorded in the preceding pages, up to the discovery of the bullet, which she exhibited. The young man shuddered, while at the same time his eye flashed fire. He could scarcely restrain himself from catching Catalina in his arms, and pressing her to his bosom, as mothers do their babes when they apprehend the approach of danger. He gazed on her for some moments with the most intense interest, and then exclaimed:

"Dear Catalina! I will protect and defend you with my life, and all my life!"

"I know you will, Sybrandt," replied she, with a full look of more than gratitude. "I know you will, for you have risked it once already for me. But perhaps, after all, it may be accident, the firing of this gun."

Sybrandt shook his head. "I would not needlessly alarm you; but it is plain to me that you have some secret enemy who is seeking your life. The appearances you saw that night in the copsewood are now clearly explained to my mind. The click you heard, and described as resembling the opening or shutting of a penknife, was, I have no doubt, the cocking of a gun; the sparks were those of the flint; and the flame, the flashing of the pan. I recollect it was a damp, wet evening, which accounts for the gun missing fire."

The explanation was clear; Catalina felt a faintness come over her, and leaned heavily on his arm.

"Go on," said she, gasping for breath; "go on; let me know the worst I am to expect."

"I will; for it is necessary to your future safety. No doubt the villain, whoever he is, mistook the clothes on the back of the chair, which you say was standing directly before the window, for you, and—and—" Here the increasing weight of Catalina arrested his attention, and looking in her face, he saw her pale as death. In a moment after her strength forsook her, and she sank in his arms overpowered by the sense of past as well as future probable dangers. Sybrandt placed her softly upon a little grass terrace, hidden from view by a wilderness of flowering shrubs, and supporting her head on his bosom, waited in wild

perturbation her recovery. In a little while she opened her eyes, blushed, and raised herself from his arms.

At length she said, with a languid smile, "You must forgive me, I am but a woman."

"And I am but a man," said Sybrandt warmly; "yet here I swear never to rest till I have dragged this secret villain to light and punishment. And if you, my dear cousin, will allow me, I here solemnly devote myself to your safety from this time forward. When I am not by your side, I will be hovering around you unseen, watching every being that approaches you, or searching every secret corner where man or beast might conceal himself. Henceforward it is the business—the duty—the painful, solemn pleasure of my existence to live for your safety, and, if necessary, to die in your defense. Do you—do you value me sufficiently to trust me with the precious charge?"

The soft and swelling bosom of Catalina heaved with emotions of gratitude, confidence, and gentle tenderness as she looked in his face with glistening eyes, and answered,

"I do value you sufficiently, and I will trust my cousin. Who else can I trust? I dare not tell the story of this bullet to my father and mother; for it would plant thorns in their pillow, and destroy their happiness. I *must* trust you," added she, with a smile of languid, tender meaning; "and if I were not obliged to do it, still I believe I *should* trust you."

"Dear Catalina! but you know me—that is enough."

"Yes, we know each other, I trust," replied she, with a look of unbounded confidence and affection. Sybrandt did not take advantage of this moment to tell a tale of love. There was something too solemn and affecting in the circumstances that gave rise to this interview. The idea of the danger and death that seemed hovering over her; of the secret midnight murderer who was besetting her steps wherever she went, and watching her sleeping and waking, communicated to her an air of sanctity, and gave to her glowing beauty, her confiding words, and tender looks, a holy innocence, which, while it melted the soul in unutterable tenderness, repressed every selfish wish and every sensual desire. It was settled ere they separated, that Catalina should refrain from going out in future alone, or in the dusk of the evening, and never show herself at the window after dark, until Sybrandt had taken every

measure to investigate this mysterious affair, and detect the meditating murderer. To this object he was now about to devote his exclusive attention, animated by his love, as well as by the hope that, guided as he should be by a latent suspicion which had risen up in his mind, he might succeed in the attempt.

"What the d——I have you two been doing all this while in the garden?" cried Ariel, who had arrived during their absence, and looked very knowing as he asked the question.

"Picking flowers," answered Catalina, blushing and then turning pale.

"Picking a quarrel, I should rather suppose, by your looks," and then he began to banter them a little; but seeing the pain it gave them both, he was too good-natured to pursue the amusement. Honest Ariel never uttered a maxim in his life, but he acted upon a very good one, to wit, never to carry jesting to the verge of malignity, as many people do. When he saw he gave pain, he desisted in a moment. Perhaps he might have been a little influenced in his self-denial on this occasion by a sly retort of Catalina, who, in reply to an assertion that he overheard their whisperings, observed, with some of her wonted arch significance, that "it was only the humming of the bees."

Sybrandt soon after took his leave, declining an invitation from Ariel to go and see the great ox the good man visited every day, and on whose fat sirloin he banqueted in glorious anticipation. The young man pursued his way homeward in deep meditation, of a mingled character of pleasure and pain. The delight of having, as he could not but hope, gained an interest in the heart of Catalina thrilled through his frame. Yet the cup was dashed with black and bitter ingredients. The treasure which he hoped one day to make his own was in danger of being torn from him by some unseen and unknown hand, against which it behooved him to guard with sleepless vigilance. The dark idea of death mingled with the bright visions of hope, and gave a character of deep, intense solemnity to his love. His anticipations seemed like flowers blooming on the verge of the grave, and the grim specter of mortality stalked hand in hand with the smiling cherubs Love and Hope. Out of these conflicting feelings arose, however, a fixed determination to devote his time, his talents, and his life, if necessary, to the great purpose which now took possession of his whole soul.

JAMES KIRKE PAULDING.

(*To be continued.*)

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. V.

FEBRUARY, 1907

No. 2

CONTENTS

LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON (<i>Second Paper</i>)	63
GLEN IRIS, A GREAT GIFT. . . . EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL	74
TO GLEN IRIS (<i>Poem</i>) JAMES N. JOHNSTON	80
EXTRACTS FROM BRITISH ARCHIVES (<i>Ninth Paper</i>) . . . EUGENE F. MCPIKE	81
ODE ON THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON	89
A JACOB ABBOTT MEMORIAL . . . REV. HORATIO O. LADD	90
WILLIAM BERRY OF 1638 GEORGE W. CHAMBERLAIN	92
THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK A. FRANKLIN ROSS	94
SIXTY YEARS AGO—LITERARY CELEBRITIES . F. G. W.	101
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS	
Letter of Washington to Thomas Law	104
Letter of Washington to Colonel Read	106
Letter of Hancock to Washington	107
Letter of Abraham Clark to Col. Jonathan Dayton	108
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CLASS OF 1775	109
THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1906	110
THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE: CHAPTERS XXI-XXIII . . . JAMES K. PAULDING	113
BOOK REVIEWS	123

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LETTERS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON.

VII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, AUGUST 16, 1777

Three page folio. This magnificent letter is one of those epistles that give evidence of Washington's mastery of the science of war. In his instructions regarding manœuvres he shows that psychological knowledge, which is characteristic of great commanders, of the emotions of soldiers. Apart from the importance of this letter from this point of view, its historical interest is noteworthy. Generals Howe, Stark, Lincoln, Burgoyne, and Schuyler are among the prominent military figures mentioned in this letter, which is mainly, but not entirely, published in Sparks, (vol. v, p. 29.)

"Camp, at Cross Roads, 16 August, 1777.

Dear Sir, I see, with the most sensible pleasure, the exertions of your State, dismembered as it is, and under every discouragement and disadvantage. I lament, that any causes are sufficiently powerful to prevent that effectual aid from your eastern neighbours, which the interest of the public cause, and the immediate safety of your particular State, so pressingy demanded at this time. But, though it is dilatory in coming, I cannot but hope it will still come, before it is too late. I imagine one cause, and not the least material, of their delay, is an apprehension of Gen. Howe's army. It were to be wished that his designs were once reduced to certainty. This I should be in hopes would serve to remove that inactivity and indecision, which I believe proceed in a great measure from suspense and uncertainty. I am however advised, that a body of New Hampshire militia, under General Stark, had joined General Lincoln at Bennington, and that another of Massachusetts militia was partly arrived, and the rest arriving at the same place. A tolerable body of men once collected there would make General Burgoyne anxious for his rear, oblige him to advance circumspectly, and to leave such strong posts behind, as must make his main body very weak, and extremely capable of being repulsed by the

force we shall have in front. I should not be very uneasy for the issue if I could once see our northern army recovered from their present dejection, and restored to a tolerable degree of confidence and animation. In addition to the two regiments, which are gone from Peekskill, I am forwarding as fast as possible, to join the northern army, Colonel Morgan's corps of riflemen, amounting to about five hundred. These are all chosen men, selected from the army at large, well acquainted with the use of rifles, and with that mode of fighting, which is necessary to make them a good counterpoise to the Indians; and they have distinguished themselves on a variety of occasions, since the formation of the corps, in skirmishes with the enemy. I expect the most eminent services from them; and I shall be mistaken if their presence does not go far towards producing a general desertion among the savages. *I should think it would be well, even before their arrival, to begin to circulate these ideas, with proper embellishments, throughout the country and in the army; and to take pains to communicate them to the enemy. It would not be amiss, among other things, to magnify their numbers.*¹ I am of the opinion, with the Council of Safety, that your presence to the northward might have a very happy influence, and, if it were compatible with the many other calls there are and will be upon you, I could wish to see you with the northern army at the head of the militia of your State. From some expressions in a letter, which I have seen, written by General Lincoln to General Schuyler, I am led to infer, that it is in contemplation to unite all the militia and Continental troops in one body, and make an opposition wholly in front. If this be really the intention, I should think it a very ineligible plan. An enemy can always act with more vigor and effect when they have nothing to apprehend for their flanks and rear, than when they have; and it is one of the most approved and most universally practiced manoeuvres of war, to keep their fears continually awake on these accounts, and, when circumstances permit, to be actually in condition to give them serious annoyance in those parts. Independent of the inconveniences, that attend a situation where the rear and flanks are constantly exposed to the insults of light parties, which may at every moment be harassing them; the necessity of never losing sight of the means of a secure retreat, which ought to be the object of an officer's care, must be exceedingly embarrassing, where there is a force in such a position as to endanger it. If a respectable body of men were to be stationed on the Grants, it would undoubtedly have the effect intimated above, and would render it not a little difficult for General Burgoyne to keep the necessary communications open; and they would frequently afford opportunities of intercepting his convoys. If there should be none there, he might advance with security, leaving small posts behind, and might draw his supplies regularly and without interruption; than which nothing could tend more to facilitate his operations and give them success. These reasons make it clearly my opinion, that a sufficient body of militia should always be reserved in a situation proper to answer those purposes. If there should be more collected than is requisite for

¹ *The italicized sentences prove that for the sake of his country Washington could tell, or at least countenance, a lie.*

this use, the surplusage may, with propriety be added to the main body of the army. I am not, however, so fully acquainted with every circumstance, that ought to be taken into consideration, as to pretend to do anything more than advise in the matter. Let those on the spot determine and act as appears to them most prudent.

P. S. It is most probable that General Schuyler will have put it out of the enemy's power to avail themselves of the convenience of Water Carriage by removing all Boats out of their way. If however, this necessary precaution should not have occur'd to him, it will be proper to remind him that all means of facilitating their progress down the river should be cut off as speedily as possible."

VIII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JULY 11, 1778

Three page folio, from Headquarters at Paramus. This is one of those important letters whose absence from the "Clinton Papers," purchased by New York State, the editor especially regretted. In it Washington consults Clinton at great length concerning the next movement of the army, and asks the Governor's advice as to whether he considers it more advisable for Washington to take up his position on the east or west side of the Hudson River. The references to Long Island, Staten Island, and New York City are all of much interest, while the postscript, quoting from the letter from Benedict Arnold reporting the arrival of the French fleet, gave the first information to the Governor of New York of news that sent a thrill of new hope to the American people. The letter of Henry Laurens, President of Congress (dated the next day, July 12), to Governor Clinton, confirming this news, is printed in the "Clinton Papers," vol. iii, p. 547; but Washington's letter is missing.

"Dear Sir, The first division of the Army moved from hence this morning, about four miles, to give room to the Second. They will reach Kokiato tomorrow evening, and the North River the next day. I shall halt the remainder hereabouts a few days, to refresh the men. I am yet undetermined as to the expediency of throwing the Army immediately over the North River. I will state my reasons for hesitating, and shall beg to hear your sentiments upon the matter.

Upon conversing with the Q. M. and Commissary General and Commissary of Forage, upon the prospect of supplies, they all agree, that the Army can be much more easily subsisted upon the West, than upon the East side of the River. The country on this side is more plentiful in regard to forage: and flour, which is the article for which we shall be most likely to be distressed, coming from the Southward, will have a shorter transportation, and consequently the supply more easily

kept up. We are beside in a country devoted to the Enemy, and gleaning it, takes so much from them. Was this the only point to be determined, there would not remain a moments doubt; but the principal matter to be considered, is, (upon a supposition that the enemy mean to operate up the North River) whether the Army, being all or part upon this side of the river, can afford a sufficient and timely support to the posts, should they put such a design in execution.

Upon this point, then, Sir, I request your full and candid opinion. You are well acquainted with the condition of the posts, and know what opposition they are at present capable of making, when sufficiently manned which ought in my opinion to be immediately done. After that, you will please to take into consideration, whether any, and what advantages may be derived from the Army's being upon the East side of the River, and if there, what position would be most eligible. The neighbourhood of the White Plains after leaving sufficient Garrisons in our rear, strikes me at present. We have the strength of the ground, and we cover a considerable extent of Country, and draw forage which would otherwise fall into the hands of the Enemy.

In forming your opinion, be pleased to advert to the necessity of keeping our force pretty much collected, for which side soever you may determine: For should the enemy find us disjointed, they may throw the whole of theirs upon part of ours, and, by their shipping, keep us from making a junction.

In determining the above, you are to take it for granted that we can, should it be deemed most expedient, support the Army upon the East, tho' it will be with infinitely more difficulty than upon the West side of the river.

By the latest accounts from New York it does not seem possible that the Enemy will operate any where suddenly; They have been much harassed and deranged by their march thro' Jersey, and are at present encamped upon Long, Staten and York Islands.

We have this day a rumor that a French Fleet has been seen off the Coast, and that the English is preparing to sail from New York in pusuit of them. But it is but a rumor.

P. S. I have just rec'd a letter from General Arnold at Philad'a. in which is the following. "An express is arrived to Congress from France by the way of Boston with intelligence, that on the 15th of April a French Fleet sailed from Toulon consisting of 12 sail of the line, 7 frigates and "4 xebecks"—which we may hourly expect to arrive in this or Chespeak Bay.—Admiral Keppel sailed the 24th April from St. Helens with 11 sail of the line."

The above fully corroborates the account from New York, but I do not know that it ought to be made public yet, I mean as to numbers."

Entirely unpublished.

IX

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JULY 31, 1778

Two page folio. This letter from White Plains is another one of those epistles in which Washington laid down general laws of the science of war, regarding reconnoitering and manœuvring against the enemy. [Compare letter of August 16, 1777, described above.] This manuscript is a communication of instructions to General Clinton, who was operating around New York City, which is specifically mentioned by Washington. The entire letter, except Washington's own signature, is in the autograph of Alexander Hamilton, who was then aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief.

"Sir, With the detachment under your command, which is to comprehend the Corps now advanced with Col'l. Morgan, you are to move towards Kings Bridge and the Enemy's lines thereabouts.—

The principal objects in view are, to cover the Engineers and Surveyors, while they reconnoiter and as far as time will permit, survey the ground & roads in *your* rear, and in front of the Camp—to countenance and encourage that spirit of desertion which seems so prevalent at present—to discover, if possible, those unfriendly, and ill disposed inhabitants who make a practice of apprehending, and conveying within the Enemy's line such deserters from their Army as happen to fall into their hands and with such witnesses as are necessary to elucidate the facts send them to the Head Quarters of this Army—and lastly to try what effect the detachments approach may have upon the Enemy.

I do not mean, or wish, that you should encamp very near the Enemy of nights, but wherever you do Incamp, that you do it in proper order of battle, so that your officers and men may rise at once upon the ground they are to defend. Your flanks and front sufficiently advanced upon every possible approach, always remembering how disgraceful a thing it is for an officer to be surprised, and believing, that if the enemy are in force at the Bridge, they will certainly attempt it.

When I speak of your flanks, I have an eye particularly to the North River, as the enemy can, with facility move with both secrecy & dispatch by water, if they are provided with boats at, or near the Bridge, or even at the City, so as to be upon your right flank & even rear, without much difficulty, or notice.

Have your evening's position well reconnoitred before hand, and unless there are good reasons to the contrary, I would advise against kindling fires at night, as the weather is warm, & your position would be discovered, & advantages taken from the knowledge of it.

You may continue out with the detachment two, or three days & nights, according to the state of your provisions and other circumstances, and when you return, leave an officer & sixteen Dragoons of Col'l. Sheldons Regiment, with Col'l. Morgan, who with the detachment under his immediate command is to remain until further orders.

As the grounds on the West side of the Bronx River are much stronger, than those on the East, it may possibly be more eligible to go down on that side, and return on the other, in case any attempts should be made to harrass your rear.—

You will give me the earliest and fullest intelligence of all occurrences worthy notice."

Entirely unpublished.

THE NEXT EIGHT LETTERS FORMS AN UNPUBLISHED SERIES HAVING TO DO WITH THE SULLIVAN-CLINTON CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS IN ITALICS ARE FROM THE SECOND VOLUME OF JOHN FISKE'S "AMERICAN REVOLUTION."

The popular reputation of Brant as an incarnate demon rests largely upon the part which he was formerly supposed to have taken in the devastation of Wyoming. But the "monster Brant," who figures so conspicuously in Campbell's celebrated poem, was not even present on this occasion. Thayendanegea (Brant) was at that time at Niagara. It was not long, however, before he was concerned in a bloody affair in which Walten Butler was principal. The village of Cherry Valley, in central New York, was destroyed on November 10 by a party of 700 Tories and Indians. All the houses were burned, and about 50 of the inhabitants murdered without regard to age or sex. Many other atrocious things were done in the course of this year; but the affairs of Wyoming and Cherry Valley made a deeper impression than any of the others. Among the victims there were many refined gentlemen and ladies, well known in the Northern States, and this was especially the case of Cherry Valley.

Washington made up his mind that exemplary vengeance must be taken, and the source of the evil extinguished as far as possible. An army of 5000 men was sent out in the summer of 1779, with instructions to lay waste the country of the hostile Iroquois and capture the nest of Tory miscreants at Fort Niagara. The command of the expedition was offered to Gates, and when he testily declined it, as requiring too much hard work for a man of his years, it was given to Sullivan. To prepare such an army for penetrating to a depth of 400 miles through the forest was no light

task; and before they had reached the Iroquois country, Brant had sacked the town of Minisink and annihilated a force of militia sent to oppose him. Yet the expedition was well timed for the purpose of destroying the growing crops of the enemy. The army advanced in two divisions. The right wing, under General James Clinton, proceeded up the valley of the Mohawk as far as Canajoharie, and then turned to the southwest; while the left wing, under Sullivan himself, ascended the Susquehanna. On the 22d of August the two columns met at Tioga, and one week later they found the enemy at Newtown, on the site of the present town of Elmira,—1500 Tories and Indians, led by Sir John Johnson in person, with both the Butlers and Thayendanegea. In the battle which ensued, the enemy was routed with great slaughter, while the American loss was less than fifty.

X

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, NOVEMBER 16, 1778

One page folio. This letter from Headquarters at Fredericksburg (Dutchess Co., N. Y.), contains instructions concerning the retaliatory measures of the American army after the terrible Cherry Valley Massacre. It is referred to in a letter of the same date from Washington to General Hand, beginning: "I have yours of the 13th, containing the disagreeable account of the attack upon Colonel Alden's regiment at Cherry Valley. I have ordered General Clinton, with the two remaining regiments of his brigade, to march immediately to Albany, that they may be ready to act as circumstances may require. It is in the highest degree distressing to have our frontier so continually harassed by this collection of banditti, under Brant and Butler." (Sparks, vol. vi, p. 111.) The present letter is unusual in having a smudged signature of Washington, showing the impression of his thumb.

"Sir, I request that you will, as soon as possible after the receipt of this, proceed with the remainder of your Brigade to Albany. If Col'l. Hay the Qr. M'r. can furnish vessels for transporting the troops, without breaking in upon those that will be necessary for crossing such part of our Army as will soon go to Jersey and the Convention Troops now on their way to Virginia, it will be much better than for you to proceed by land. You will consult him upon the occasion. The enclosed copy of a letter to Gen'l. Hand will point out the cause of your movement—and you will consider it as instructions for your conduct, as you will have the command.—In writing to him it was only intended that matters should be getting in train," etc.

Entirely unpublished.

XI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, NOVEMBER 20, 1778

Two page folio, from Headquarters at Fredericksburg, containing further instructions in regard to the campaign against the Indians.

"Dear Sir, Upon the receipt of this letter you will be pleased to proceed immediately to Albany, or the place to which General Hand may have gone:—previously, however directing the two Regiments of your brigade to follow you, in case they have not already set out, and to wait your orders at Albany.

General Hand received my directions to take the Command at the Minisink in which I have, (for the present) included Col'l. Cortlandt's Regiment, now at Rochester. You will deliver him the inclosed letter, left open for your information, in which I have desired a free communication of sentiment, and co-operation of force—You will therefore consult with General Hand, on the plans he may have in contemplation, whether offensive against the Indians, or for giving greater security to the frontiers," etc.

Entirely unpublished.

XII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, DECEMBER 31, 1778

Two page folio. From Philadelphia, with special instructions regarding General Schuyler, the gallant New York general, whose trial before Congress was mainly due to the petty jealousy of General Gates. Washington's compassionate nature is manifest in the line, "I always hear of capital executions with concern."

"Sir, I have been favoured with your letter of the 5th inst. and with yours & Gen'l. Hand's of the 20th ult. The one you mention of the 20th never came to hand.

As the impediments which suspended General Schuyler from command are now removed by an honorable acquittal I have written him a line upon the subject of his resuming it, in the Department where he now is for the present. If this event takes place, you will till some new arrangement or disposition is made consider yourself under his directions and receive orders from him accordingly.

With respect to Major Whiting's application to be relieved—I have mentioned the matter to General Schuyler and he will give such orders about it, as circumstances

will permit and justify. I have also mentioned to him the case of Lt. Jonas Parker, and requested him to obtain a state of the Officers of the Regiment—of the vacancies and the periods when they happened,—and to transmit it to the Board of War, who are to issue all commissions in future.

I always hear of capital executions with concern, and regret that there should occur so many instances in which they are necessary.—Aaron Williams appears to have deserved the fate he met with—and the service, from the number of desertions you mention in the York line, to have pointed to his early punishment.”

Entirely unpublished.

XIII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JANUARY 19, 1779

Two page folio. This letter from Headquarters in Philadelphia is especially interesting in connection with the campaign against the Indians. The Americans had gained the tribe of the Oneidas as allies, and the latter, fearing the attack of the other Indian Nations, had requested General Schuyler to build a fort for them. A portion of Washington's letter follows:

“When I return to camp I shall direct that cloathing be sent up to Albany for the men in Hospital at that place, and I must beg your care in having it delivered out as is wanted.

You may have such a number of snow shoes made as you may judge necessary to answer the purposes you mention. The officer who was sent down to procure Cloathing for Warner's Reg't. and Whitcomb's Rangers has obtained an order for it from the Board of War upon the Store at Springfield, from whence he will send it to the Quarters of those troops.

Inclosed you have an order upon the Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield for such quantity of ammunition as you may judge necessary for the supply of the troops under your command.

You will be pleased to give directions to the officers commanding the out posts to supply any of the friendly Indians with provisions whenever they shall be obliged to fly to them for security from the Enemies. The Oneidas have lately applied to General Schuyler to have a picket Fort built in their country should they find the other Nations inclined to put their threats in execution against them for their steady adherence to our Cause. I laid Gen'l. Schuyler's letter to me on the subject

72 LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON

before Congress and they have directed that the Fort be built upon application to have it done. You will, therefore be pleased to take the execution of the matter upon you should the Indians request it."

Entirely unpublished.

XIV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JANUARY 25, 1779

Two page folio. This letter from Philadelphia contains reference to the fort built for the Oneidas, the Indian allies of the Americans (see preceding letter). There is also definite reference to the destruction of the Cherry Valley settlement—the massacre which this expedition of Sullivan and Clinton was destined to avenge.

"Dear Sir: I have received your favors of the 9th and 13th inst's. In my last of the 10th I informed you that it was the desire of Congress that a Fort might be built for the Oneidas if they requested it—and I am therefore glad that you have ordered that work to be executed.—I also at that time enclosed an order upon the Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield for what ammunition you might think necessary for the troops under your command.—

General Schuyler in a letter of the 2d inst. ; mentions the importance of a settlement called Burnets Field near the German Flats—and advises that part of the Troops now at Cherry Valley be removed to that place—as Cherry Valley settlement is so nearly destroyed that it is scarcely an object of another attack—while that of Burnets field is of so much consequence towards keeping up the Communication with Fort Schuyler that the enemy will in all probability direct their next blow at it, unless there is a force there to oppose them. Be pleased therefore to take the matter into consideration, and endeavor to make such a disposition as will secure a place of so much value. Under present circumstances I would not have you send the Rifle Corps down—if they have not received their full cloathing, let the Commanding officer make a return of the deficiency, and it shall be sent up to them."

Entirely unpublished.

XV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 28, 1779

Two page folio. This letter from Headquarters at Middle Brook goes into some detail in connection with the campaign. It is interesting to compare the present letter with the instructions of Washington to General Sullivan (Ford's "Writings of Washington," vol. vii, p. 460). In our letter, the reference to the Onondagas in connection with Brant, the Mohawk chief, throws added light on the relation between these two tribes. The letter, being franked, has two signatures of Washington. Excepting these signatures it is entirely in the autograph of Alexander Hamilton.

"Sir, I have duly received your favours of the 17th, 18th and 20th—with their enclosures. The intelligence communicated to Mr. Deane is important—I have transmitted it to General Sullivan.

Lieutenant Colonel Regnier will inform you that he is appointed sub-inspector agreeable to your recommendation. I wish however your influence to be exerted to have a brigade inspector appointed, as Lieut't. Col'l. Regnier cannot answer the purpose longer than while your Brigade remains detached. I shall be happy if Major Fish will accept, as he acquitted himself with great credit in the office last campaign; and there is now a still more ample field for the exercise of Military talents.

In Mr. Deane's letter of the 9th, he mentions the determination of the Onondagas to give some decisive proof of their desire to conciliate our friendship. If they can be engaged by strategem or force, to bring off Butler or Brandt, or both, it will be a most essential piece of service which will meet with suitable encouragement. I recommend this to your particular attention.

I am informed by Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hay, that the packet you are apprehensive of having mis-carried was sent to General Schuyler, which is the cause of the delay. I hope ere this it has reached you.

As our preparations in this quarter are now nearly ready to enter upon the intended operations to the Westward—I hope you have gotten everything in readiness at Canajoharie, as mentioned in your former instructions, to execute without delay the order you shall receive from General Sullivan. If anything remains to be done it ought to be completed with all expedition."

Entirely unpublished.

(To be continued.)

GLEN IRIS—A GREAT GIFT

THERE is, in the western part of New York State, on the brink of a wooded gorge and overlooking a stately waterfall, an idyllic home. It is such a home as a Thoreau or a Bryant or an Emerson might have loved: a modest frame dwelling, filled with good books and other evidences of culture, and pervaded by an atmosphere of good cheer and hospitality for either the old acquaintance or the stranger within the gates. The lawn on two sides is bordered by the superb sentinels of the adjacent forest, while the other two front the gorge, 350 feet deep, from which rises the endless diapason of falling waters.

This is the home, however, not of a dreaming poet, but of a man with a poet's soul united to a practical and executive mind, which has been devoted for more than the length of an average generation to the welfare of his fellow-men. He is a man of singular personal modesty, and although over four score years, his unimpaired faculties are still devoted daily to the service of human brotherhood, and the unabated warmth of his human sympathy makes sunny the autumn of his life.

This man is William Pryor Letchworth of Portage, New York, whose offer to give to the State of New York, for the benefit of mankind, his beautiful estate of a thousand acres, which represents an investment of over half a million dollars, was officially communicated to the Legislature by Governor Hughes in his message January 2. When the committee of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, which represented Mr. Letchworth, called on the Governor-elect to convey the tender, it was not unnatural that Mr. Hughes should say: "In the midst of so many calls from people who are asking something *from* the State, it is a novel and delightful sensation to have someone offer to give something *to* the State. This is certainly a most generous benefaction."

It seems almost incomprehensible that such a noble gift should meet with any opposition, but as soon as the bill providing for its acceptance was introduced, it precipitated a fight. Hostile interests manifested themselves, and efforts were made—it is said in behalf of a certain power company which coveted the water-power on Mr. Letchworth's estate—so to amend the bill as to weaken the protection which he designed to throw

around the park by giving it into the custody of the Society, and to cause him to withdraw his gift. This manifestation of selfish greed was properly rebuked, however, by the final vote. The Assembly accepted the gift unanimously, and the Senate accepted it with only four dissenting votes. The names of the four senators who earned unenviable distinction by voting to reject the gift will not be remembered as long as will Mr. Letchworth's name through his great gift. It was the first bill to receive Governor Hughes' approval. In accepting it he said:

"This gift to the people is an act of generosity which fitly crowns a life of conspicuous public usefulness, and entitles the donor to the lasting regard of his fellow citizens. The people of the state cannot fail to realize the advantages which will accrue from their acquisition of the beautiful tract, and by means of its perpetual dedication to the purpose of a public park or reservation."

Mr. Letchworth was born in Brownsville, Jefferson Co., N. Y. While he was yet young, the family moved to Auburn. There the older members of the family enjoyed the intimate friendship of William H. Seward and his family, and the friendship has been continued by the living representatives of both. After a mercantile career of some years in Auburn, Mr. Letchworth went to Buffalo and engaged in the hardware business, prospered, and acquired a fortune.

His health having been impaired by hard work, he sought a suitable place of refuge from the too exacting demands of city life, and in 1859 made his initial purchase at Portage Falls on the Upper Genesee River. As he saw the seven-hued arch that spanned the Upper Fall, the name Glen Iris came into his mind, and so he named it.

In 1869, intending to devote himself to charitable work, he withdrew from business and ultimately took up his permanent residence at Glen Iris.

In 1873 Governor Dix appointed him one of the Commissioners of the State Board of Charities. For twenty-four years, during ten of which he was President of the Board, he gave all his time and energies to this work, without compensation or even reimbursement of his expenses. He traveled abroad in order that the State might have the benefit to be derived from a knowledge of conditions and methods there.

As the result of his work and his notable reports to the Legislature, many much needed and radical reforms were effected in the management

of the charitable institutions of the State. He has devoted much attention to the care of the insane and epileptics, and is the author of "The Insane in Foreign Countries," "Care and Treatment of Epileptics," and numerous monographs on subjects relating to social science. In 1898 he was elected President of the National Association for the study of Epilepsy and the Care and Treatment of Epileptics, and at various times has been President of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, and of the Buffalo Historical Society, as well as trustee in various charitable institutions.

His gift of Glen Iris is the natural and crowning outcome of his charitable instincts and his love of nature and human history. Long before the first Federal scenic reservation had been created in the Yellowstone Park, and longer before the first great State reservation of natural beauty in the United States was created at Niagara Falls, he had quietly begun the work of scenic and historic preservation, with the design of ultimately giving to the public a place long regarded in New York State as second in beauty and interest only to the Falls of Niagara.

The Genesee River rises in Pennsylvania, flows northerly across the State of New York, and empties into Lake Ontario near Rochester. From Portageville northward to Mt. Morris, a distance of about twenty miles, its channel differs strikingly in appearance and geological history from the Genesee valley above and below this section. Above Portageville and below Mt. Morris, the valley is from one to two miles wide, while the twenty-mile section mentioned is a deep and picturesque gorge, with almost perpendicular sides.

Where Portage Bridge—800 feet long and 234 feet high—crosses the gorge, the land is three hundred feet above the bed of the river. Three hundred feet north of the bridge, the river takes a plunge of seventy feet at what is called the Upper Fall. A short half mile further downstream, and opposite Mr. Letchworth's house, the river rolls impressively over another fall of 107 feet. This is called the Middle Fall, and is suggestive of the American Fall at Niagara on a reduced scale. Just below the Middle Fall the vertical walls of the gorge are 350 feet high—twenty feet higher than the Palisades of the Hudson River at Fort Lee. Above the rock wall the land rises 150 feet higher still. A mile and a half below the Middle Fall are the Lower Falls, ninety feet high. A vagary of the river at the Lower Falls has produced the picturesque Sugar Loaf Rock, which was figured and explained by Prof. James Hall, State Geologist, in his report on this region in 1843.

The beautiful exposure of rocks in this gorge gave rise to the geological term "The Portage Group." The strata lie almost horizontally, with a slight dip to the southward. The bottom member of the group is a mass of soft olive or dark argillaceous shales, having thin beds of sandstone interspersed and embracing one or more bands of black bituminous shales. Overlying them are sandy shales with abundant beds of sandstones and flagstones. These gradually merge into thicker sandstones with thinner intervening shales. These strata, deposited in an ancient ocean bed, and here exposed to a depth of 350 feet, lie before the eyes of the observer like an open book of geology.

Glen Iris affords a means of practical research in many branches of scientific study. In the gorge walls are unusual opportunities for the study of geology. Concerning botany, the late George W. Clinton, President of the Society of Natural Sciences of Buffalo, who spent much time in Portage, said that there was to be found there a greater variety of plant-life than in any other locality he knew. And with respect to Natural history, Mr. Eldridge E. Fish, the author and naturalist, says: "In many respects, this charming retreat surpasses any other in its attractions for the naturalist. The flora is more abundant and varied, while the song-birds are here in greater numbers than in any other locality of the state."

When Mr. Letchworth made his first acquisition at Glen Iris, the region was in the demoralized condition which follows in the wake of the lumberman's axe. His first concern was to restore the natural conditions as nearly as possible, by removing *débris*, re-forestation, and other improvements. As the work advanced and the danger of commercial intrusion increased, he realized that to preserve the commanding beauty of the place he must increase his acquisitions so as to take in both banks of the gorge. He therefore kept buying, until he had acquired about a thousand acres, stretching along three miles of the river on both sides, and including all three of the Falls. The famous Portage Bridge crosses on his property. The estate includes not only forest land, but areas of farm meadows.

His improvements in the way of roads, paths, rustic stairs and arbors, were not confined to his own estate; but with entire disregard of property lines he helped build the town bridge over one of the tributary glens, and built stone walls and made other improvements along the public highway that extends through the property.

Almost from the beginning of his residence here, Mr. Letchworth formed the design of dedicating the property to the public good. He

once thought that the two ideas of scenic and historic preservation and the care of the unfortunate might be combined. With this in view, he secured the incorporation, in 1870, of the Wyoming Benevolent Institute, and later gave to it fifty-nine acres, known as the Prospect Home Villa, between the Middle and Lower Falls. There, in a comfortable house, poor children from the cities have been entertained year after year, until quite recently. The continuance of this plan, however, proved impracticable, and to enable him to make his gift as complete as possible, the trustees of the Institute, of which his nephew, Mr. Ogden P. Letchworth of Buffalo, was President, lent their generous cooperation by deeding back the property to the donor.

While restoring the natural charms of the place and putting it to charitable uses, Mr. Letchworth also gave it an historical and educational value in several ways. He built a small, fireproof museum and placed in it several thousand Indian relics, the fossil head of a mastodon exhumed a few miles away, and many geological specimens. He also caused to be transported to Glen Iris the old Indian Council House, built of logs, which formerly stood in Caneadea and was threatened with destruction. Here, on Mr. Letchworth's grounds, the survivors of the Iroquois Confederacy met in 1872 and held the last Indian council in the Genesee Valley. At this time the Indians adopted Mr. Letchworth into the Seneca nation, and named him *Hai-wa-ye-is-tah*, which means "the man who always does the right thing."

In 1874, the grave in Buffalo of Mary Jemison,¹ the "White Woman of the Genesee," was doomed to destruction by a street opening. Mr. Letchworth, at the request of the Buffalo Historical Society, consented to give re-interment to her remains on his Council House grounds, where he erected a monument over her new grave, and surrounded it with Indian gravestones. The latter had been removed from a neighboring Indian burying ground by the town authorities and used for building culverts in roads. Mr. Letchworth secured them from the town by replacing the culverts at his own expense. He also caused an old log cabin, built by Mary Jemison for one of her daughters, to be brought here and set up near the grave and Council House. These two old structures are interesting object lessons of a by-gone age.

¹ Mary Jemison was taken captive when a girl, during the French and Indian War, and spent her life among the aborigines. Her biography is one of the most dramatic stories of that period.

From the natural delights and the educational advantages of the place, the owner did not exclude the public. On the contrary, by signs he invited the people to come and enjoy them, and they have come by the thousand—always well-behaved and considerate of the privilege, as he gladly testifies.

For a long time Mr. Letchworth has been giving serious consideration to the problem as to how he could make his property most useful and beneficial to mankind. He was a member of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, whose work in defending Niagara Falls, and in saving the Palisades of the Hudson, the Stony Point battlefield, Watkins Glen, etc., impressed him, and he took the trustees into his confidence. The custody of the Watkins Glen and Stony Point reservations being in the Society, he at length concluded to give the title to Glen Iris to the State with the condition that he should retain a life use and tenancy, with the right further to improve it, and that upon his death the Society should have the control and management. The gift includes the whole Glen Iris estate, the farms, buildings, museum, etc., and his library, which, in addition to its historical works, contains the finest private collection of books on charities in the country.

Mr. Letchworth has very fully disclosed to the Society's trustees his views as to the future development of the property "for the benefit of mankind," and the extent of his philanthropy will be realized more fully as these plans gradually unfold.

No written words are adequate to express the debt of the public to the donor of this superb gift. It is its own most eloquent eulogy. Its value will be measured not only by the direct benefits arising from it, but also by the encouragement which it will give to others to "go and do likewise." And it may not be out of place to express a word of pleasure that so strong and conservative a body as the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society exists to receive the confidences and trusts of men like Mr. Letchworth, and to cooperate with them in making their benefactions effective.

In the future the increased multitudes who will visit Glen Iris will realize the beauty of the sentiment expressed in these lines, written by Mr. James N. Johnston of Buffalo, a few years ago:

TO GLEN IRIS.

For all the magic by thy master wrought
In working out in thee his bounteous scheme,
And making thee an artist-poet's dream—
For sweet converse of friends, exalted thought
And generous welcome ever unforgot,
Thy summer woods, the moonlight on the stream,
With all the memories that rise supreme,
Dear Glen, for these alone I love thee not.

Thy master's weary years of ceaseless care,
To aid the sick, the hapless sufferer seek—
His voice of mercy pleading for the weak,
His word of hope to brighten dark despair,
His potent message helpful everywhere—
For *these* I love thee most, and *these* forever speak.

EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL.

NEW YORK CITY.



EXTRACTS FROM BRITISH ARCHIVES

ON THE FAMILIES OF HALEY, HALLEY, PIKE, ETC.

COLLINSON'S "History of Somerset" says (vol. iii., p. 7): "The family of Pyke or Pike were the next possessors of Ash Manor, which became then termed Pyke's-Ash. William Pyke married Alice Bowring, daughter of Thomas Bowring of Bowrings-Leigh in Devon county; issue, Robert Pike, son and heir assessed at Pike's Ash in the 22nd year of Henry VIII., with 300 acres pasture, 10 of meadow and two messuages at Witcombe there, and five more messuages, 100 arable acres, and 6 of wood-forest, at Milton, all in said Manor of Pyke's-Ash, besides other property in Pyke-Ham. Robert Pyke had a son and heir, Thomas Pyke, who married Mary Stawel, of Cothelston, whose daughter Elizabeth married Jas. Leigh or Reynolds; this last spoiled the estate. Tradition said there was a Stephen Pyke, brother of Elizabeth."

The same work (vol. iii., page 99) declares that Buckland Manor was granted 36 Henry VIII. to William Halley, Esq. [or Armiger: bearing arms] and his descendant, Lord Hawley sold it to John Baker, Esq. (the Land-Tax Receiver). Furthermore (*ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 262) Sir John Warre, Knighted by Charles II., was Knight M. P. for Somerset; he married Unton Hawley, daughter of Sir Francis Hawley of Buckland, Somerset (afterwards Baron Hawley of the Kingdom of Ireland). The said Unton had to Sir J. Warre an only son named Francis Warre, made Baron 1673. Wells Cathedral, Somerset, has on pillar, east side north transept, a brass plate: "Henry Hawley, Armiger, died 8 Feb. 1573" (*ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 401). In Bathford church, Somerset, appears this inscription: "Died May 29, 1743, Francis Lord Hawley, aged 73; his wife, Elizabeth, died 1747, aged 67," (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 115).

Circumstantial evidence of the (supposed) relationship between the last mentioned families of Halley, Hawley, Pyke, in Somerset, is afforded by a previous item relating to a suit of Lady Haley against Agnes

Bowring, in Somerset, in which connection, Lady Haley's son-in-law, Mr. Weare, is mentioned. The marriage of William Pyke and Alice Bowring is elsewhere cited.

In the *London Magazine* for August, 1766, is recorded the death "Recently, Captain James Pike, navy," but no trace of him can be found in the Public Record office. See *London Notes and Queries*, 9th series, vol. xi., p. 368. The published item, however, is suggestive.

The parish register of St. Mary, Woolnoth, London, shows:

Aug. 4, 1695. Richard Haley, born (baptised August 15), son of Richard (a Gardener) and Elizabeth Haley of Chatham, Kent. The child was born at Mr. Maddison's, Sherbourne Lane, city of London, [probably the wife's mother's house; visiting.]

1573. Edward Hawley (buried) and Eleanor; John, Mary, Samuel Hawley.

1680, Dec. 21. Edmund Pike, baptised; son of Edmund and Hannah Pike.

1684, July 13. John Pike, baptised; son of Edmund and Hannah Pike.

1679, Feb. 26. Edmund Pike, of St. Margarets, New Fish Street (Queenhithe), and Hannah Hopkinson of St. Marys, Woolchurch Haw; married by Licence.

1680, Jan. 5. Died, Edmund, son of Edmund Pike (buried Jan. 6).

1684, Sept. 28. Died, John, son of Edmund Pike (buried Sept. 30).

1704, July 23. Baptised, Thomas, son of Thomas and Hannah Pike (born July 18).

The pedigrees of "Hawley" are in three county histories: Sussex, Harts and Somerset, but they are contemporary or later than "Halley."

The name of Edmund Hawley appears in vol. 83 of the Camden

Society publications, entitled "Wills from Doctors' Commons, 1495-1695," but there is nothing to indicate his genealogy.

Mr. Wm. H. Richards, of Grenfell House, Marina Terrace, Plymouth, England, possesses "a short pedigree on Richard Halley or Hallely, of Hackney, London. Some fine descents are brought into his family through his wife, Margaret, eighth daughter of Christopher, Lord Conyers." (See "Visitation of London, 1633-4," Harleian Society, vol. xv., p. 342, London, 1880).

The directory to the city of London, for 1906, shows:

James Pike, linen-draper, 21 Gloucester Road, S. W.

Pyke & Co., linen-merchants, 11 Bow lane, E. C.

Albert Pyke & Co., tailors, 22 Bishopgate Street, without E. C.

A London correspondent writes: "The results of my enquiry at the College of Arms have been disappointing. It appears that no grant of arms has at any time been made to a person of the name of Halley and that no Halley pedigree is recorded at the College. I am still to learn whose were the arms borne (according to Aubrey) by Edmond Halley, and hope to write you further on this point before long."

A description of Halley arms appeared in *Notes and Queries*, London, tenth series, vol. v., No. 126 (May 2k, 1906): page 406. The italic letter *V* printed therein, refers simply to the authority, viz.: "Glover's Ordinary Cotton MS. Tiberius D, 10; Harl, MSS. 1392, and 1459." These documents are probably preserved in the British Museum.

Annual Register, vol. xliii. (pp. 14, 31) relates to trial of Sir Harry Brown, for carrying away Miss Pike, a rich Quaker heiress, of Cork, Ireland, Sept. 19, 1801. Sentenced to Botany Bay, Australia.

Annual Register, vol. xlvi. (p. 826), June 20, 1804, Lyon Pike, 8 Colchester Street, London, patent-grant for improved pencils (a Jew).

Among published marriage-licenses for Hampshire, England, are the following:

1709, Samuel Mountain, Stockbridge, and Mary Sutton, Andover.

1726, Benjamin Mountain, Andover, and Eliz. Penton, Winchester.

1716, John Mountain, Romsey, and Sarah Shipton, Andover.

1774, Robert Mountain, Winchester, and Eliz. Leader.

1736, John Mountain, Andover, and Jane Elcombe.

1726, Joseph Mountain, Andover, and Anne Spearing of Winchester.

Although much circumstantial evidence has been found, the problem which gave rise to this series of notes has not been solved. It is clearly set forth in two short contributions on the families of Halley, Hauley, Hawley, Pike and Stewart, printed in the *Devon Notes and Queries*, Exeter, for July, 1906 (vol. 4, pages 86-88). Consult, also, *Notes and Queries*, London, ninth series, vol. xi., pp. 205-206. The chief family-tradition is in the words following:

"——— McPike from Scotland [married] to Miss Haley (or Haly) from England; she was granddaughter of Sir Edmund Haley (astronomer), England. Children were: James M'Pike, Miss M'Pike. Miss M'Pike married M'Donald of Ireland."

"Capt. James M'Pike, Scotch, from England, 1772, to U. S., Baltimore. . . . Served seven years with Washington, under Col. Howard and Gen. Little of Baltimore, Maryland. Also under command of Gen. Lafayette. Capt. James M'Pike married Martha Mountain." (*Extracts* from original manuscript in The Newberry Library, Chicago Museum, case No. II., 31.2, catalogue No. 89030.)

The most promising sources of newly discovered facts will be the columns of *Notes and Queries*, London; *Devon Notes and Queries*, Exeter; and the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

It seems a fitting appendix to this series, to give the extract following, from the official record of the will of Sybilla Halley, widow of Edmund Halley, Jr., Surgeon, R. N., who was the only maturing son of Dr. Edmond Halley:

"Sybilla Halley of the Parish of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, widow. The grand-daughter Sybilla Parry all wearing apparel. To good friend Catherine Beaumont, wife of John Beaumont of East Greenwich, lighterman, a ring. Remainder of estate, real and personal, equally to grand-daughters, Sybilla Parry and Sarah Parry (Sarah Parry under age). Sybilla Parry and Catherine Beaumont, executors. Will dated May 1, 1771. Witnesses: Thomas Friend, John Woodham, William Munro. Proved Nov. 13, 1772, by Sybilla Parry, power being reserved to Catherine Beaumont. [Register Taverner, Folio 406; P. C. C., Somerset House, London.]

In sending the above, Mr. Ralph J. Beevor, M. A., of Reymersston, Manor Road, St. Albans, England (who has thus greatly increased an already heavy debt of gratitude on the part of the present writer), remarks that "the will establishes the fact . . . that the astronomer, Edmond Halley, had grand-children (or a grand-child) and great-grand-children. On the other hand, the inference from the will is, that Sybilla Halley had but one daughter, who married and that this daughter married a Parry. There may, of course, have been more daughters than one, and the old lady, in making her will may have thought it necessary only to make provision for the two orphan (?) grand-children who remained with her."

Or, is it not possible, that the one daughter implied by the will, may have been twice married, and that her first husband may have been a Pike or McPike, by whom she may have had a son, James McPike, born *circa* 1751? On this theory, consult *Notes and Queries*, London, for June 13, 1903 (9th series, vol. xi., p. 464).

Perhaps, however, James McPike was descended from the Richard Pyke of Fenchurch Street, London (fl. 1694.) If so, it may be found that his descent from Dr. Edmond Halley was only collateral instead of direct.

A pedigree of the family of Dr. Edmond Halley may eventually be found among the correspondence of Dr. Arthur Charlett, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See *Notes and Queries* (London), 10th series, vol. vi., page 408 (Nov. 24, 1906).

It might also be worth while to consult unpublished Mss. in the British Museum, known as Egerton Mss. 2231 f. 186; and 2334 c. 2;

also Addit. Ms. 4222 f. 177; in addition to others relating to the Coat of Arms of Hales, Hauley, Hawley, previously mentioned in this series.

Another possible source of similar information is Dr. Halley's commonplace-book, possessed by the Earl of Macclesfield, Oxford.

[P. s.]

Commenting further upon Sybilla Halley's will, Mr. R. J. Beever says: "My present view is that Richard Pyke, citizen and poulterer, is merely a red herring across the trail. We know from the will of Sybilla Halley, that the astronomer had a granddaughter and there is but little ground for concluding that he had but one. Sybilla Halley's will reads like that of a person in no very affluent circumstances. Her two daughters, we may suppose, both predeceased her. The granddaughters who lived with her at Greenwich had the first claim on her. The children of her other [supposed] daughter were able to support themselves, or had migrated to Scotland, Ireland, or even across the seas. Why, except to oblige the genealogists of the next century, should they be mentioned in her will?"

ABBREVIATIONS

Am. Gen.—The American Genealogist (Ardmore, Penn.); 1899.

Am. Hist. Reg.—The American Historical Register (Philadelphia) New Series; 1897.

Gen. Q. M.—The Genealogical Quarterly Magazine (Eben Putnam, *ed.*); 1899-1905.

Mag. Hist.—Magazine of History with Notes and Queries (New York); 1905—to date.

N. Y. G. Record.—New York Genealogical and Biographical Record; 1869—to date.

N. & Q.—Notes and Queries, (London); 1849—to date.

Old N. W.—The 'Old Northwest' Genealogical Quarterly; 1898—to date.

Scot. N. & Q.—Scottish Notes and Queries (Aberdeen); 1887—to date.

Va. Mag.—Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (Richmond); 1891—to date.

York. N. & Q.—Yorkshire Notes and Queries (Bradford); 1904—to date.

NOTE.—The references given below are to volume and page which are separated by a colon, *e.g.*: 9th ser., 11:368 means ninth series, volume eleven, page 368. One volume is separated from another by a semi-colon.

AMERICA; genealogy in,
Mag. Hist. 2:213, 214, 349.
N. & Q., 10th ser., 2:63.

ARNAUD,
N. Y. G. Record, 29:162.

BEAUCHAMP, *see* FAIRFIELD.

BLAIR,
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 7:47.

BRABB(S),
York. N. & Q., 1:88.

DENTON,
Mag. Hist., 1:191.
N. Y. G. Record, 29:240.
N. & Q., 10th ser., 2:417.
York. N. & Q., 1:210, 326.

DUMONT,
Am. Gen., 1:148.
Mag. Hist., 1:192.
N. Y. G. Record; 29:103, 161, 237;
30:36; 34:191.
N. & Q., 9th ser., 11:87; 10th ser.,
2:453.

ENGLAND; researches in,
Gen. Q. M., 2:188-232.
Mag. Hist., 2:213.

ENTWISLE,
N. & Q., 10th ser., 3:6-7.

FAIRFIELD,
Mag. Hist., 1:192.
N. Y. G. Record, 29:102.

FRANCE; researches in,
Mag. Hist., 2:213-214.

GARFIELD,
N. & Q., 10th ser., 2:64.
GENEALOGIES in preparation,
Mag. Hist., 2:214.
N. & Q., 10th ser., 4:467.
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 7:91.

GUEST,
Am. Hist. Reg., new ser., 1:167.
Mag. Hist. 1:192.
N. Y. G. Record, 29:100.
N. & Q., 10th ser., 1:504.

HALLEY,
Mag. Hist., 1:192.
N. Y. G. Record, 34:52, 106.
N. & Q., 10th ser., 4:526.
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 6:151; 7:
36, 78, 79.

HUDSON,
N. & Q., 10th ser., 4:288.

IRISH emigration,
Mag. Hist., 1:127-141.

LITHGOW,
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 7:47, 80.

LYON,
Mag. Hist., 1:192.
N. Y. G. Record, 28:75, 235; 29:
98.

N. & Q., 10th ser., 1:169.
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 6:90, 134,
151.

- McDONALD,
N. & Q., 10th ser., 2: 467.
- McPIKE, (*see* PIKE):
Am. Hist. Reg., new ser., 1: 167.
Mag. Hist., 1: 252.
N. Y. G. Record, 29: 13; 34: 52, 106.
N. & Q., 9th ser., 11: 205.
Old N. W., 7: (October, 1904).
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 6: 119, 151.
Va. Mag., 9: 212.
- MILLIKIN,
N. & Q., 10th ser., 3: 6-7.
- MOUNTAIN,
Am. Hist. Reg., new ser., 1: 167.
- PIKE, (*see* McPIKE):
Mag. Hist., 1: 192.
N. & Q., 9th ser., 11: 368; 12: 468.
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 6: 93, 126,
142, 174.
- PRICE,
N. & Q., 10th ser., 3: 6-7.
- REYNOLDS,
N. Y. G. Record, 29: 100-101.
- REZEAU,
N. Y. G. Record, 29: 162.
- SCOTLAND; researches in,
Mag. Hist., 2: 213, 214.
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 7: 53, 91.
- STEWART,
Scot. N. & Q., 2nd ser., 6: 59; 7: 53.
- STUART, (*see* STEWART):
- THURBER,
N. Y. G. Record, 29: 102.
- TRAVERRIER,
N. Y. G. Record, 29: 162.
- U. S. A.; genealogy in,
Mag. Hist., 2: 213, 214, 349.
N. & Q., 10th ser., 2: 63.
- WADDINGHAM,
York. N. & Q., 1: 88.
- WASHINGTON,
N. & Q., 10th ser., 2: 417.
- WELLS,
N. Y. G. Record, 28: 77.
- WILKINSON,
York. N. & Q., 1: 88, 120.

EUGENE F. McPIKE.

CHICAGO.

ODE ON THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

[From "Simon Spunkey's Political Pepperpot" in the *Gazette*, Vergennes, Vt., quoted in the *Farmers' Museum*, Walpole, N. H., January 27, 1800.]

Why moves to mournful measures slow
Yon sable retinue of woe,
With tearful eye and visage pale,
And why this universal gloom?
Sure Nature trembles o'er her tomb
And bids her 'wilderer children wail!

Do plagues infest—do wars alarm,
Has God in wrath made bare His arm
To hurl His vengeful bolts around?
Have towns been sack'd by hostile ire,
Have cities shrunk in floods of fire
While earthquakes shook the shudd'ring ground?

Ah, no thy sons, Columbia, mourn
A hero past that fatal bourne
From whence no traveller returns!
No mortal yet, so good, so great,
Before him felt the shafts of fate,
Though Glory's lamp illumine their arms!

Behold yon pallid, war-worn chief
A marble monument of grief,
Who once our troops to victory led,
The burst of sorrow now control
But now the tears of anguish roll
A tribute to th' immortal dead!

Fain would the Muse those virtues scan
Which dignified the Godlike Man,
And launch in seas without a shore!
But sure his name alone conveys
More than ten thousand hymns of praise!
The matchless WASHINGTON's no more!

But yonder beck'ning forms invite;
See WARREN ope the gates of light,
And Godlike Washington arise!
New triumphs swell the heavenly scene—
Exulting seraphim convene
To welcome him above the skies.

A JACOB ABBOTT MEMORIAL.

FEWACRES" is a name which suggests to many New Englanders and to not a few in the vicinity of Boston, the picturesque old place in Farmington, Me., where Jacob Abbott set up a school in 1838, which as Farmington Academy is in existence to this day. Some time ago, in recognition of Jacob Abbott's services to humanity, it was proposed to restore the old building at "Fewacres," and this work has been progressing satisfactorily. The general work of repair is about completed, and it is the intention to crown these efforts with a tablet to the school's founder, as is intimated in the following letter:

To the Alumni and Students of Farmington Academy:

The committee on historic tablets appointed at the reunion in August, 1901, of the surviving teachers and students of Farmington Academy, present herewith a photo-engraving of a tablet to be erected to the memory of Rev. Jacob Abbott. It is our intention to have this tablet, with an inscription in raised letters, placed upon the exterior of Fewacres, Farmington, Me., in August, 1907.

The inscription has been approved by the surviving sons of Jacob Abbott. The tablet will be cast in dark silver bronze and finished in an artistic manner.

It is proposed to obtain subscriptions from those in any way associated with the history of the Academy as students or officials or patrons of the institution.

Will you kindly send your subscription to Mrs. J. Currier Tarbox, Farmington, Me. An early response from you will be gratefully received by your committee. Faithfully yours,

Horatio Oliver Ladd, Jamaica, L. I.
H. Herbert Rice, Farmington, Me.
Mrs. J. Currier Tarbox, Farmington, Me.

The wording of the tablet will be:

Fewacres

The later home of

JACOB ABBOTT

1803-1879

Preacher of the Gospel of Christ.

Teacher of the laws of nature and life.

Pioneer in the education of youth,

Friend and guide of children,

Master in the art of gentle measures,

Minister to the higher life of man.

*This tablet is erected by students
of Farmington Academy*

A. D. 1907.

The surviving sons spoken of in the letter are the Rev. Lyman Abbott, the editor of *Outlook*, and his no less distinguished brother, the Rev. Edward Abbott of Cambridge, Mass., rector emeritus of St. James's Church of that city.—*Boston Transcript*.

If the boys and girls who prized the Rollo and Lucy Books, were to give ten cents apiece to this fund, the memorial would nearly equal the Washington Monument.

There are smaller men than he in the Hall of Fame.—[ED.]

WILLIAM BERRY (BURY) OF NEW ENGLAND, 1638

IN the *New England Historical Genealogical Register* for January, 1907, p. 69, appears a list of defaulters to the Ship Money Tax for 1637, in England, which list was made in the year 1638. Among the names in this list is the following:

"Hundred of Blithing, South Cove, William Bury, gone to New England." In their annotation a dozen lines below on the same page, the Committee on English Research state that "William Bury is not found among the settlers of New England."

It is the purpose of this paper to show that there was one William Berry (or more) in New England after 1637 and before 1648.

In his *Annals of Portsmouth, N. H.*, published in 1824, Nathaniel Adams gave on p. 18, what purports to be a list of 50 stewards and servants sent to New Hampshire by Capt. John Mason, implying that they all came in the year 1631. So far as I know there is no original paper in existence containing the names of Mason's stewards and servants. It is believed that this list is a compilation of some early antiquary.

In 1848, under the direction of Samuel G. Drake, that list was reprinted in the *N. E. Historical Genealogical Register* (Vol. II., p. 39). In the introduction to this list in the *Register* occurs this statement: "Mr. Adams has introduced this list of settlers under Nov. 3, 1631, as though they all had arrived in that year, which gives a wrong impression."

In the *Provincial Records* of New Hampshire, 1623-1631, Vol. I., the Adams list is reprinted, and in McClintock's *History of New Hampshire*, published in 1888, on p. 47, the list is again reprinted, but instead of 50 I find only 43 names in the list. The names omitted are William Berry, John Crowther, Renald Fernald, Ambrose Gibbins, Walter Neal, Henry Sherborn and Francis Williams. Whether McClintock made these omissions through carelessness or intentionally, I will not attempt to state.

We know that Neal and Gibbins came as stewards and that Fernald was a surgeon. According to the deposition of Francis Small, it appears that Sampson Lane came over from England and settled at Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth) after 1643, but his name is given in all the lists

as though he came in 1631. The letter from Thomas Eyre to Ambrose Gibbins, dated at London, the last of May, 1631, shows that Roger Knight was in New England before April 8, 1630, and that Capt. Walter Neal was here before the end of March, 1631. (N. H. Provincial Papers, Vol. I., p. 61). Ambrose Gibbins arrived at Piscataqua in 1630 and was living at Newichawanick, July 13, 1633.

Now, it is evident that the Adams list upon which James Savage and many more recently have founded, contains some names of persons that were here before 1631, and other names of persons who did not arrive in New England until after the death of Capt. John Mason in the winter of 1636.

The earliest original paper giving the name of William Berry is found in the glebe land deed recorded at Portsmouth, and signed by him and nineteen others, on May 25, 1640. In that he was described as an "Inhabitant of the Lower end of Piscataquack." (*New Hampshire Genealogical Record*, Vol. I., p. 3). He appears as a signer to a grant at Strawberry Bank, Aug. 15, 1646; as living at "Sandie Beach" (Rye), Aug. 13, 1649; and as a grantee of an "out lot" at Portsmouth, Jan. 13, 1652. His widow, Jane Berry, was appointed administratrix of his estate, June 28, 1654.

I find, however, that William Berry was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts Bay Colony, May 18, 1642, and that he became one of the freeholders of Newbury, Mass., Dec. 7, 1642. (Mass. Bay Colony Records, Vol. II., p. 291, and Currier's *History of Newbury*, p. 84).

On April 19, 1649, Job Clements was granted in Newbury "that freehold that the Towne bought formerly being William Berry his freehold," and on March 1, 1651, that "William Chandler hath William Berries [land]."

According to the Aspinwall *Notarial Records*, one William Berry, a gentleman, of Boston, gave a bond Oct. 9, 1647, to pay £20 within two months after his arrival in England (Pope's *Pioneers of Massachusetts*, p. 47), and he or another of the same name was granted £22. 15s. June 12, 1648, in the case against Robert Risly (Aspinwall *Papers*, p. 210).

That these were all one and the same William Berry, may be a matter of doubt, but that there was one William Berry living at Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth) from 1640 to 1654 is evident. Thousands of his descendants are living, of whom the writer claims to be one.

GEO. W. CHAMBERLAIN.

WYOMOUTH, MASS.

THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK

I

THE EUROPEAN FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN LOTTERIES

A KIND of public game at hazard, in order to raise money for the service of the state. A lottery consists of several numbers of blanks and prizes, which are drawn out of wheels, one of which contains the numbers of the tickets, and the other the corresponding blanks and prizes." The definition given above is taken from "The Historical Dictionary," compiled by Ezra Sampson in 1812. It has the merit of describing the term "lottery" as it was understood at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when lotteries were a legal institution. The study of lotteries which we are concerned with here relates to the history of lotteries in New York from 1721 to 1833. During this period lotteries were operated by the government of the colony and the State of New York as a means of raising revenue.

Lotteries are far from being a modern institution. They were used extensively in Greece and Rome. From Rome they were handed down to Italy. Different European countries adopted the lottery from Italy as a means of raising money for public purposes. Among the countries which made greatest use of public lotteries was France, especially in the time of Louis XIV.¹ The French Revolution put an end to lotteries temporarily. They were revived, however, by the Republic, and were employed to raise money for public purposes at various times, until they were permanently discontinued in 1836.

The development of English Lotteries² is of particular importance to us, for American colonial lotteries were an immediate outgrowth of English lotteries. The first English lottery, it seems, was projected in 1569 for the purpose of raising means with which to repair harbors and

¹ The best account of the development of French lotteries is the following: "Etude Historique sur les Loteries, M. l'Abbé J. Corblett." *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1861, pp. 11-128.

² The best account of English lotteries is "A History of English Lotteries," by John Ashton, London, 1893.

provide for other public works.³ A lottery was authorized in 1612 for the benefit of the Virginia Company "for the present plantation of English Colonies in America."⁴ In 1660 a lottery was opened to raise money to ransom English slaves in Tunis, Algiers, and in Turkish galleys elsewhere.⁵ After the death of Prince Rupert in 1682 his jewels were disposed of by lottery.⁶ In 1694 the government authorized a lottery of £100,000 with shares at £10 each, to provide for a loan to that amount.⁷ The war with France at the time produced unusual expenses. To avoid the unpopularity which would come from levying a general tax, William III resorted to the expedient of raising the money by lottery. Three years later another loan of £1,400,000 in the same manner.⁸ In 1699, because of the evils attendant upon the drawing of lotteries, all lotteries were suppressed.⁹ In 1710, however, they were resumed, and year after year they continued to bring a considerable revenue to the state.¹⁰ In 1719 a vigorous prosecution against lotteries organized under private management was begun. Private lotteries, as they were called, were considered to be particularly pernicious, since they were not under restrictions or supervision of government officers.¹¹

The famous State Lottery of 1739 was authorized for building a bridge over the Thames River. From the funds raised in this manner Westminster Bridge was built.¹² From 1743 to 1748 lotteries varying in amount from £1,000,000 to £6,300,000 were held with shares uniformly at £10 each.¹³

Although the lottery was a state institution for raising money, there were those at the close of the eighteenth century who condemned it bitterly on moral grounds. Adam Smith declared the world never had seen and never would see a fair lottery. Fraud in the manner of conducting lotteries was proved in many cases. One "Patch" Price, who was convicted of fraudulent practices in connection with the drawing of a lottery, hanged himself in his cell to escape the shame of public execution.¹⁴ In England and in America the punishment for many of the offences in connection with lotteries was, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, death.

³ "A History of English Lotteries," p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-101.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

The mania for lotteries finally passed into the trades. There were lottery tailors, glovers, tea merchants, bakers, barbers. For example, a man being shaved for sixpence might stand a chance of getting £10; or a man calling for sixpenny worth of beef in an eating house might receive a note with a number which, if it turned out fortunate, would entitle the holder to sixty guineas.¹⁵

In 1753 a lottery was held which was responsible for the founding of the British Museum. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House were appointed as managers and trustees to raise by lottery a sum sufficient to erect a building for the housing of the Harleian and other libraries which had been purchased to establish a public library.¹⁶

It is worthy of note that the government rarely received the whole amount of the lottery authorized. The state lottery of 1811 for the amount of £600,000 brought to the government a net sum of £208,007.¹⁷ The difference in the amounts was due to the cost of management and to the fact that usually only a part of the tickets were sold. The state lottery of 1819 brought in a net sum of £213,324.¹⁸

After 1819 there are few lotteries to record in English history. Opposition to them became widespread. In that year Mr. Lyttleton introduced the following resolution in the House of Commons:

"(1) That by the establishment of state lotteries, a spirit of gambling, injurious in the highest degree to the morals of the people is encouraged and provoked,

"(2) That since a habit, manifestly weakening the habits of industry, must diminish the permanent sources of the public revenue,

"(3) That the said lotteries have given rise to other systems of gambling, which have been but partially repressed by laws, whose provisions are extremely arbitrary, and their enforcement liable to the greatest abuses,

"(4) That this House, therefore, will no longer authorize the erection of state lotteries under any system of regulation whatever."¹⁹

The last lottery in England was held in 1826. Public interest in lotteries had declined to such a degree that the drawing of the lottery had

to be postponed several times because the tickets could not be sold. Every effort was put forth to arouse excitement in favor of the lottery, but the people were apathetic even if it was the last lottery to be held.²⁰

One of the worst evils connected with the English lotteries was the insuring of lottery tickets.²¹ So pernicious had the practice become that a statute (33 George III, c. 62) was passed authorizing officers of the law to break open doors and apprehend offenders who violated the law respecting the insurance of tickets. We shall have occasion to consider the subject of insurance of tickets more in detail in taking up the history of the practice in New York. In brief, insuring of tickets was simply a form of betting. In return for a small sum a larger one was promised provided a certain number turned up in the drawing of a lottery. The "other systems of gambling" mentioned by Mr. Lyttleton in his resolution referred to the practice of insuring tickets.

II

THE BEGINNING OF LOTTERIES IN AMERICA

ENGLISH lotteries furnished the example for the American colonial lotteries. Many of the colonists must have been familiar with the working of the English lotteries from actual observation. The tickets of the English state lotteries, in fact, were sold to some extent in the colonies. It is not surprising, therefore, that the colonial statutes which were passed to authorize lotteries were copied from English statutes. A little work published in London in 1771 entitled "The Lottery Displayed," contains an account of the manner of drawing a lottery at that time. The regulations for drawing colonial lotteries at the same time were stated in precisely the same terms as the plan set forth in the little treatise referred to. The same evils in the same form, in fact, grew up in the colonial lotteries as in the English lotteries.

Lotteries came into the colonies when the people were poor and when taxes bore heavily upon them. They were used as a means for raising money for public purposes of various kinds, such as the founding of schools, the construction of roads, the building of bridges, court houses, jails, public buildings for the sick and the poor, for establishing foundries, glass works, for digging canals, etc.

Although the practice of holding lotteries may never have been entirely free from criticism there were times in which they met the approval of the best men in the colonies. The diary of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, father of Bishop Seabury, contains the following entry:

"The ticket No. 5866 in the Light House and Public Lottery of New York, drew in my favor, by the blessing of Almighty God, 500 pounds sterling, of which I received 425 pounds, there being a deduction of fifteen per cent; for which I now record to my posterity my thanks and praise to Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts."¹

John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington are to be counted among those who gave their support to lotteries. The following copy is taken from a ticket which was issued by the lottery of the Cumberland Mountain Road:

Number

1768

176

This Ticket (No. 176) shall entitle the Person to whatever Prize may happen to be drawn against its Number in the Mountain Road Lottery.

Go. Washington.

An announcement of a lottery projected for the benefit of Leicester Academy at Lancaster, Mass., asked for the support of the clergy in the following words:

"As the design of this lottery is for promoting Piety, Virtue, and such of the liberal Arts and Sciences as may qualify the Youth to become useful Members of Society, the Managers wish for and expect the aid of the Gentlemen Trustees of the Academy, the Reverend Clergy, and all persons who have a taste for encouraging said Seminary of Learning."²

One of the active promoters of a lottery organized to provide for the rebuilding of Faneuil Hall was John Hancock. The following advertisement of the Faneuil Hall lottery appeared in a Boston paper November 1, 1762:

¹ *Historical Magazine*, New Series, VI, 245.

² Boston and Salem papers, June, 1790.

"SCHEME OF A LOTTERY

For raising a Sum of Money for Rebuilding Faneuil Hall; agreeable to an Act of the General Court, wherein Messieurs Thomas Cushing, Samuel Hewes, John Scollay, Benjamin Austin, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Phillips Savage, and Ezekiel Lewis, or any three of them, are appointed Managers, who are sworn to the faithful Discharge of their Trust."

The colleges of New England received a liberal share of the money that was raised by lottery. The following advertisement from the *Salem Gazette* is typical of the newspaper announcement of a lottery:³

"DARTMOUTH COLLEGE LOTTERY, CLASS SECOND

The Managers of the Dartmouth College Lottery present to the Public the following Scheme of the Second Class, in which they have aimed to meet their wishes by making a larger proportion of valuable prizes than usual; they flatter themselves that the same Public Spirit will be displayed, by encouraging the sale of Tickets in this, that was so fully manifested in the former Class,

SCHEME				
Prizes		Dolls		Dolls
1	of	3000	is	3000
1		1000		1000
4		500	are	2000
10		200		2000
20		100		2000
30		50		1500
80		20		1600
100		10		1000
1650		6		9900
<hr/>				<hr/>
1896 Prizes				24000
<hr/>				
4104 Blanks				
<hr/>				

³ *Salem Gazette*, 1796.

6000 Tickets, at 4 Dollars each are 24000. Subject to a deduction of twelve and one half per cent. Of the above prizes of 500 Dollars one will be placed to the first drawn blank, and the other three to the last three drawn blanks."

Harvard, Yale, and Brown were also recipients of liberal grants of money by means of the lottery.

In the days when lotteries flourished the United States Government also embarked upon this means of raising money. Up to 1820 the Government had authorized seventy lotteries for various purposes. The first lottery under national control was one granted by the Continental Congress to raise money for the troops in the field.⁴ Agents were appointed to sell the tickets in the states. The drawing of the lottery was postponed from time to time until finally the whole scheme failed. In 1792 Congress authorized a lottery to assist in the development of the City of Washington. The particular purpose of the lottery was to build a hotel in Washington. Fifty thousand tickets were issued at seven dollars apiece. The first prize was the hotel itself; other cash prizes from \$25,000 to \$10 dollars were offered. The lottery dragged along until the people of Georgetown bought up the tickets. Another lottery national at least in its scope was the Washington Monument Lottery.⁵ It was advertised to be drawn in Baltimore, September 4, 1811. There were capital prizes ranging from \$50,000 to \$5,000.

⁴ *Journal of Continental Congress*, Nov. 1, 1776. Four hundred thousand tickets were authorized to be issued. The sum to be raised was \$10,000,000.

⁵ Advertised in the Boston papers of 1811.

(To be continued.)



NEW YORK

SIXTY YEARS AGO

SOME THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY AN ENGRAVING OF THOMAS HICKS'S
"AUTHORS OF THE UNITED STATES"

AMONG the many engravings showing groups of distinguished Americans, that were once so popular and that may still be purchased, none has more interest for the bookman than the reproduction of Thomas Hicks's painting, "Authors of the United States," a copy of which recently attracted attention here. The original picture dates from about 1850, and the authors deemed of sufficient note to merit inclusion number no less than forty-four. Story writers aside, one may hazard the conjecture that to group an equal number to-day the artist would have to be even more catholic than was Mr. Hicks, comparatively few of whose celebrities were mainly or solely writers of fiction. Yet the picture affords a striking illustration of the evanescent nature of some literary fame and the fallibility of contemporary judgment.

The center of the group is appropriately given to the veterans of those days—James Fenimore Cooper in the post of honor, with Bryant on his right and Irving on his left, while just behind are Fitz-Greene Halleck and R. H. Dana, whose "Buccaneer" crusty Christopher North had hailed as "by far the most powerful and original of American poetical compositions." Longfellow and Emerson, Holmes and Whittier are in the print, of course, not in the guise of sedate old men, as the present generation is accustomed to seeing them depicted, but as stalwarts in the full strength of middle life. The dreamy-eyed Hawthorne is here, and a bushy-bearded young Lowell, and a Poe in theatrical posture. Here, too, are the historians Prescott, Bancroft, and Motley, Bayard Taylor and George William Curtis, N. P. Willis and J. G. Saxe, and—among those who but a few years ago were of the living—Parke Godwin and R. H. Stoddard.

So far so good. No one will question the right of these to a place among the authors of the United States, nor perhaps that of Beecher, of

the Southern novelist William G. Simms, of the poet and diplomatist George H. Boker, of Channing, of Henry T. Tuckerman, connoisseur of art and literature, or even possibly of George P. Morris, for Father Time, the woodman, will spare for another generation or two that slender tree. But how many now read the fiction of John Pendleton Kennedy, Secretary of the Navy under Fillmore, or the humorous "Sparrowgrass Papers" of Frederick S. Cozzens? How many remember those New Englanders who became Southern editors—George D. Prentice of the *Louisville Journal*, author of witticisms, and George W. Kendall of the *New Orleans Picayune*, historian of the Mexican war? Perhaps the name of Charles Fenno Hoffman of New York, lawyer, editor, and song writer, founder of the *Knickerbocker Magazine* and author of "Greyslaer," a novel, who lost a leg in early life and later became deranged, may be familiar to a wider circle; but certainly for the poems of P. Pendleton Cooke of Virginia, dead since 1850, and of William D. Gallagher, who died in Kentucky a few years ago in his nineties, one would ask at the book counter in vain.

Not the least interesting feature of the picture is the galaxy of nine "authoresses" who, much beskirted and beringleted, add to the awkwardness of masculine posing their touch of grace. Margaret Fuller and Harriet Beecher Stowe are certainly not forgotten, nor, by the children at any rate, is Alice Cary, whose sister Phoebe strange to say is not included in the group. Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney of "Pocahontas" fame, and Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt-Ritchie, actress and dramatist, are more than names to many; but it is to be feared that Catherine M. Sedgwick's improving tales and Caroline M. Stansbury's¹ sketches of early Michigan are to most of us as unknown as the poems that Amelia B. Welby contributed under her Christian name to the *Louisville Journal*. The manifold works of the ninth lady, though she rests from her labors, still flourish mightily, for she is the popular Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth,

¹ Miss Stansbury is easier remembered by her married name, Mrs. William Kirkland. She wrote "A New Home" (1839), "Forest Life" (1842), "Western Clearings" (1845).

Griswold said of them, "No works of their class were ever more brilliantly successful than these original and admirable pictures of frontier scenery, woodcraft and domestic experience" (for Mrs. Kirkland was a resident of Michigan when they were written, and drew on her own experience for her descriptions.)

It is remarkable that Lydia Maria Child and Sarah J. Lippincott—"Grace Greenwood"—were not included in this group. They were certainly as worthy of inclusion as Mrs. Sigourney and Mrs. Ritchie, and a New York publisher is now considering the re-issue of several of their juvenile books.—[Ed.]

whom to name is to carry the mind to first things, as the alphabet, the primeval garden of Genesis, and budding intellects.

Sole survivor to-day of that band of forty-four—"although the last, not least"—is Donald G. Mitchell, the Ik Marvel still dear to the hearts of romantic youth of both sexes, who at 84 is passing his last days at his Edgewood farm in his native Connecticut. Poe has been in his grave fifty-seven years; it is only one year less since Margaret Fuller met her tragic end, and others of the group have been dead for half a century. Mr. Mitchell, if he ever looks upon the picture, must feel indeed—

"like one
Who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted,
Whose lights are fled,
Whose garlands dead,
And all but he departed."

New York Times.

F. G. W.



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON ON INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGES



[His unpublished letter to Thomas Law on the latter's approaching marriage to Eliza Parke Custis, his wife's granddaughter.]

This is in many respects the most interesting Washington letter we have seen during recent years. Important letters of the First President come upon the market in abundance—military, political, business and friendly letters—but no letter approaching the present example in tender, sincere, fatherly interest has lately come before us. And when we add that this remarkable specimen of Washington as a correspondent—written on a subject which lay very close to his heart—is absolutely unpublished and unmentioned by any of his biographers, its very great importance must be acknowledged.

Eliza Parke Custis was the first born of John Parke and Eleanor Calvert, born at Abingdon, August 21, 1776. Her girlish prettiness promised womanly perfection, and Robert Edge Pine, a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, portrayed her, at Mount Vernon, in May, 1785, in her ninth year, in accurate drawing and exquisite blending. In 1794, on the threshold of womanhood, she took counsel of Washington on the subject of love and the General wrote to her, in warning: "Do not, in your contemplation of the marriage state, look for perfect felicity before you consent to wed—nor conceive from the fine tales the poets and lovers of old have told us of the transports of mutual love, that heaven has taken its abode on earth. Thus wisely counseled, Eliza Custis met, in March, 1795 Thomas Law, of England, and fell promptly in love. Tom Law was then thirty-eight—"the scion of British aristocracy, a Lord of India, bright in speech, elegant in manner, intellectually handsome, and with a plethoric purse withal!"

Early in 1796 the engagement of Thomas Law and Miss Custis was announced, and on March 21, that year, the marriage was celebrated. What an auspicious union! (and yet one which ended most unhappily). Eliza Parke Custis, a descendant of Lord Baltimore, a granddaughter of

Mrs. Washington, wife of the President—to Tom Law, paragon of manly perfection. Robert Morris wrote to Law on March 20 that on the following day he was to be made “one of the happiest mortals now living.” On the 10th of the previous month, when the engagement was first announced, Washington sent to Law the present letter:

PHILADELPHIA 10th. Feb. 1796.

SIR

Yesterday's Mail brought me your letter of the 4th Instant;—and that of Saturday announced from Miss Custis herself, the Union which is pending between you. No intimation of this event, from any quarter having been communicated to us before, it may well be supposed that it was a matter of surprise.—

This being premised, I have only to add, that as the parties most interested are agreed, my approbation, in which Mrs. Washington unites, is cordially given; accompanied with best wishes that both of you may be supremely happy in the alliance.— I must however,—tho' it is no immediate concern of mine—be permitted to hope, as the young lady is in her nonage, that preliminary measures has (*sic*) been, or will be arranged with her Mother and Guardian, before the nuptials are solemnized.—

We shall hope that wour fortunes (if not before) will, by this event, be fixed in America; for it would be a heart rending circumstance, if you should separate Eliza from her friends in this country.— Whether the marriage is to take place soon, or late, we have no data to judge from; but be it is it will, if you should bring her to Philadelphia, we invite you both to this house.—With very great esteem and regard

I am— Sir

Your obedt Hble Servant
GEO. WASHINGTON.

To
THOMAS LAW Esqr



LETTER OF WASHINGTON TO COLONEL ——— READ

[Letter of Washington to Colonel ——— Read commanding at Albany, N. Y., and dated at Newburgh, July 10, 1782. The Colonel Willet mentioned was Marinus Willett, the famous Indian fighter. The disputes between officers of similar rank, as to command, were an old story to Washington and he evidently intended to forestall any such in this case.]

DEAR SIR.

I am favored this moment with your Letter of the 2d inst., the intelligence communicated therein appears to me to be vague & not perfectly founded; it ought however have so much influence upon our conduct as to excite unusual vigilance & preparation, in order to baffle any of the barbarous designs of the Enemy, should they attempt to carry them into execution—For my own part, I am more apprehensive of the Country on the Mohawk River than for any other part of the Frontier, because I think from the circumstances the principle effort (should there be any invasion) would be made against it,—& therefore it seems to me, that withdrawing the Companies of State Troops from Saratoga & that quarter (where they cannot be very necessary) & extending them, together with the other Levies on the Frontier of the Mohawk, and at the same time concentrating your Regiment to the neighborhood of the place you mention, would be a judicious plan, tho' I do not pretend to be myself sufficiently acquainted with the local situation, to determine with absolute certainty on the expediency of this disposition.—it will in my opinion, be advisable to consult & arrange their matter with Col. Willet, who is particularly well informed of the Geography of the Country,—any little dispute about rank or Command, I am persuaded will not, on such an occasion or any other where the public good is concerned, intervene, to prevent your consulting & acting together for the promotion of the Service,—Those disputes, as I before observed, may be determined whenever the claims & documents of both parties are handed in.

If there are any public Boats at Albany, I have no objection to your having some of them got up the Mohawk,—of the other Articles you are in want, there should be a specific Return made to the Quarter Master, that he may furnish in proportion to your necessities, & the stock on hand.

As to the Cartridge Boxes for the Levies, it will be impossible to supply them from the public Store, because we have not more than are absolutely necessary for our Troop;—the best substitute therefore that can be devised must be made use of;—and I have confidence that you and the other officers commanding on the Frontier, will economise the means in

your possession to the best advantage, and exert all your zeal & activity
in the public service.

I am Dr. Sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

G. WASHINGTON.

LETTER OF JOHN HANCOCK TO WASHINGTON

[Letter of John Hancock as President of Congress, to Washington, dated at Philadelphia, July 13, 1776. The reference to Foster is to Captain Foster, who was in command at the encounter at The Cedars, Canada, in May, 1776, when the Americans were defeated and a number of them massacred by the Indians, and others mutilated by having their ears slit.]

SIR:

I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your favour of the 10th Inst. and to acquaint you that it is now under the consideration of Congress.

The enclosed Resolves I do myself the Honour to transmit, as necessary for your Information. I have wrote to General Schuyler and the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, respecting the same.

In obedience to the Commands of Congress, I have enclosed you two copies of sundry Resolves they have passed, relative to the Treatment of our Prisoners by Captain Foster in Canada. I am to request you will take the proper steps to send one of them to General Howe, and the other to General Burgoyne. I transmit also a third copy, for your own use . . . Should the United States of America give their sancition to the Jesuitical and villainous distinction which Captain Foster adopts to justify his Conduct there would be no end to butchering our Prisoners. They have therefore reprobated it and in the genuine spirit of Freedom resolved that such Cruelty as shall be inflicted on Prisoners in their Possession by Savages or Foreigners taken into Pay by the King of Great Britain shall be considered as done by his order and Recourse be immediately had to Retaliation

It is to be hoped this Determination will have the desired effect; and that for the future such Barbarous scenes will never be acted under the Eye and approbation of a British officer. I say, under the approbation of a British officer, For there is the Greatest Reason to believe that Captain Foster engaged the Indians to join him on the express Condition of giving up to them all such prisoners as might fall into his Hand,

His subsequent conduct indeed renders this conjecture more than probable.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest Esteem, Sir,

Your most obed't & very Hble Serv't

JOHN HANCOCK, *Pres't.*

LETTER OF ABRAHAM CLARK, SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, TO COLONEL JONATHAN DAYTON

(Remarkable as one of the earliest and severest criticisms of Alexander Hamilton.)

March, 1789.

DEAR SIR:

If you can have it ascertained Govr. will not issue commissions as the law directs, I think it advisable that you send Colo. Wadsworth the Law with some remarks such as you think proper, and this as soon as possible.

I feel myself out of all patience with Col. Hamilton. He really appears to be, what I have some times thought him, a shim sham politician. He must needs soon run himself aground. His politics are such as will not stand the test. He will soon refine them to nothing. . . .

He is clear that by the Law the Govr. & Council ought to have declared the number on the third of March, but thinks prudence requires our acquiescance in the last advise of Council for fear of making a Noise that will disturb this young infant child of his; which if it is to be so nursed and raised by our giving up all our liberties most dear & valuable—a fair representation—we had better let the Creature die; I am for nursing it properly with wholesome food and raising up to a proper state of manhood to support us in those privileges we are contending for—Give up our most valuable privileges for fear of giving uneasiness! What a strange idea! . . .

Give up those privileges, which government is designed to secure to us! give us our Rights to secure what he means, which is nothing.

Besides, is it giving quiet to the General Government to raise a State into a ferment which might prove extremely detrimental to the Government, and perhaps fatal, to it; for a silence in a business where so many thousands are concerned is not to be expected. The United States cannot but become acquainted with this business; and unless Justice is sought for by us and granted by Congress, a much greater injury will arise to the Government than can happen by a manly opposition in a Constitutional way. The more I think of this business, the more I am out with this great little trifling genius.

And will say no more about him at present; only I wish you to answer his Letter & show him his absurdities; by giving his brains a

little shock, it may in some measure settle them; not with the view of any assistance from him, which I do not wish; however carefully preserve his letter. I am,

Dear Sir, A. CLARK.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE JUST AFTER BUNKER HILL

[A very curious autograph document signed by Nath'l Adams, clerk of the Senior Class, regarding Commencement day, 1775.]

This interesting document reads in part as follows: "Dartmouth College, July 6th, 1775. At a meeting of the senior class of Dartmouth College convened in order to consult about the method of observing the ensuing Commencement.—

After having considered the apparent design of instituting Colleges in general and this in particular, that it was more especially designed for Christianizing the savages and for qualifying youth for the service of the sanctuary.—

Resolved—That as a Commencement seems to be the introducing to the public the youth who have received their education, the general method of observing it as a day of rioting, of vanity and Frothiness, is very indecent and inconsistent with the character that colleges ought to sustain.—

3d. That 'tis generally expedient for the satisfaction of gentlemen who are present on such occasions that they may see the proficiency that is made in the Arts and sciences that public Exercises be exhibited on that day, such as orations, disputations and so forth—But that considering the great calamities we suffer & the still greater that we are threatened with; when our brethren are jeopardizing their lives in our defence and our land is predestinated to slavery and oppression 'twill be most proper to spend the ensuing Commencement as a day of fasting humiliation and prayer, that God would take off the judgments we feel and prevent those we fear that God would pour out his spirit upon this land and that we might learn Righteousness by his judgments.

By Order of the Class.

Nath'l Adams Clk.

Voted—That Sam'l Stebbins and David Kellogg be and hereby are appointed a Committee to wait upon the Revd. President with the foregoing Resolves—Nath'l Adams Clk."

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE One Hundred and Second anniversary of the founding of the Society was held in the Assembly Hall of the new building, 170 Central Park West, on Tuesday afternoon, November 20, 1906.

The feature of the occasion was the inspiring and able address, entitled "Proportions and Values in American History," by Prof. William M. Sloane. At the close of the meeting the members examined the building, which is completed to the first story, the walls being carried up to the second story and enclosed with the permanent roof. The committee look forward to the early completion of the central building, the erection of which was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Henry Dexter, who gave this gift as a memorial to his son, the late Orrando Perry Dexter, a life member of the Society.

During 1906, besides the annual meeting, nine stated meetings were held, at which the following papers, illustrated by the stereopticon, were delivered:

February 6th.—"Benjamin Franklin." By Clarence W. Bowen, Ph.D.

March 6th.—"Historic Landmarks of Staten Island." By Ira K. Morris.

April 3d.—"Relics of the Past at Inwood, Manhattan." By Reginald Pelham Bolton.

May 1st.—"The Uniforms of the American Army, 1775-1906." By Asa Bird Gardiner, L.H.D.

June 5th.—"The Literary Chaplains of the Fort of New York." By Rev. Joseph Hooper.

October 2d.—"Bowling Green and Vicinity." By Clarence Storm.

November 7th.—"Colonial and Revolutionary History of Bergen County, N. J." By Rev. Ezra T. Sanford.

November 20th.—"Proportions and Values in American History." By William M. Sloane, LL.D.

December 4th.—"McGown's Pass and Vicinity." By Edward Hagaman Hall.

With the idea of accentuating the approach of the centennial of the founding of the Society, a series of papers was begun in October, 1903, on the villages of Manhattan Island, followed by another illustrated series, covering the historic portions of this city; both of which were prepared and delivered by members of the Society. The meeting of December 4th closed this very interesting series of papers, the appreciation of which was shown by the increased attendance of members.

The report of the librarian shows an increase during the past year of 7642 volumes of books, 4819 pamphlets, 152 bound volumes and 1673 numbers of newspapers, 13 volumes and 194 separate manuscripts, 230 maps, 373 broadsides, 72 lithographs, 19 engravings, 2 volumes and 257 separate photographs, and 203 caricatures relating to American History.

The library contains over 115,000 volumes.

To the Stephen Whitney Phoenix Collection of genealogies have been added 47 volumes, 76 pamphlets, and 4 charts.

The library of Rufus King, with additions by his grandson, Charles Ray King, M. D., was presented to the Society by the late Mrs. Charles Ray King and Miss Mary Rhinelanders King, great-granddaughter of Rufus King. This collection comprises some of the earliest and rarest books in English on Virginia and New England, French books on Florida and Canada, collections of voyages, besides a very large number of pamphlets of later date, either printed in or relating to America.

The Society is indebted to the President for the gift of the Victor Prevost Collection of forty-two original waxed-paper negatives of views of this city, 1853-1854.

The Gallery of Art now embraces, in addition to the Society's early collection of paintings and sculpture, a large and important gallery of portraits; together with the collection, transferred to the Society in 1858, of the New York Gallery of Fine Arts, including the Reed Collection, the pictures belonging to the American Art Union at its dissolution; the original water-colors, 474 in number, by Audubon, for his work on Natural History, from which his elephant folio edition of birds, etc., was prepared; the Bryan Gallery of Old Masters, presented to the Society by the late Thomas J. Bryan in 1867; the Durr Collection, selected and presented by the executors of the late Louis Durr, in accordance with the terms of his will in 1881; and the Peter Marié Collection of Miniatures, 284 in num-

ber, presented to the Society in 1905. The number of paintings is now 905, of which 207 form the nucleus of an American portrait gallery.

In the Department of Antiquities the large collections consist of the Abbott Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, purchased for the Society in 1859, and the Nineveh sculptures, presented by the late James Lenox in 1857.

At the meeting of January 2, the officers were re-elected, viz.: President, Samuel V. Hoffman; first vice-president, Frederic W. Jackson; second vice-president, Francis R. Schell; foreign corresponding secretary, Archer M. Huntington; domestic corresponding secretary, George R. Schieffelin; recording secretary, Acosta Nichols; treasurer, Charles A. Sherman; librarian, Robert H. Kelby.



THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

CHAPTER XXI

A TRIAL OF SKILL

IN casting about among the rural population of the neighborhood, there was but one person on whom Sybrandt could fasten the slightest suspicion, and that was Captain Pipe. He knew the persevering spirit of revenge which animates the sons of the forest, and the patience with which they watch and wait the moment of attaining their object. He remembered the bitter resentment he had expressed at being discarded by Colonel Vancour, and recalled to mind the look of keen, deep malignity he had cast on Catalina, as they were carrying him to prison the day of the affray at the mansion-house. He knew that an Indian never forgives. His sudden change after his release from prison—his apparent piety, industry, and sobriety, and the circumstance of the purchase of the gun—all arose in succession to the recollection of Sybrandt, and seemed to indicate some deep settled purpose in the mind of the Indian. There was no one else he could suspect, for the character of the neighborhood was that of sober, quiet simplicity, and no strangers had been known to visit it for a long time past. The result of these reflections was a determination to watch the motions of Captain Pipe from that time forward, and, if possible, to do so without exciting his suspicions.

His first step was to tempt him to remain under his eye, by offering him high wages in the employ of Mr. Dennis Vancour. Accordingly he sought him out for the purpose, and the Indian acceded to his proposal without any apparent suspicion of his real object. He came the next day; and that day, and every other day, Sybrandt, under various pretences, took care to have him perpetually under his eye, avoiding every appearance of design. The Indian had his eye on him, also, and though he discovered no indications of being aware of this perpetual supervision, his own cunning conscious heart whispered a suspicion that redoubled his watchful self-command.

"What have you done with your musket, captain?" said Sybrandt, one day, suddenly; and fixing his eye upon him, he fancied he could de-

fect a slight start as the Indian caught the question. It was, however, so almost imperceptible that it might have been mere fancy.

"I left it at home," said he.

"Why so? There is plenty of game about this house, as well as at Colonel Vancour's."

"I never heard there was much game about the colonel's."

"Oh, plenty! fine shooting, especially in the night. The birds sometimes sit in the windows to be shot at."

The Indian, who was at that moment stooping down, turned an upward glance of scorn at Sybrandt.

"I am no fool—the Indian's game does not sit in the windows."

"Why not? suppose you were to see a beautiful deer, standing looking out at a window at night, would you not be tempted to shoot it?"

"Maybe I might," said the captain, gruffly.

"But if your gun was to miss fire on account of the damp, or the deer was to turn out only a sham, what would you do then, captain?" said Sybrandt, affecting to be in jest.

"I'd look sharper another time."

Sybrandt fancied he was probing the Indian without his suspecting it, but he understood the allegory perfectly, and only wrapped himself up the more closely in the impenetrable folds of savage hypocrisy. He never went out of sight of the house during the day, and though Sybrandt took every means for the purpose, he could never ascertain that he was absent at night. On one occasion he rode out, taking care to say in the hearing of the captain that he was going to Albany, and should not return till the morrow. He then actually went to the city, from whence he returned after midnight, leaving his horse in a field at a considerable distance. He found that the captain had not left the house, nor did he leave it that night.

By degrees he appeared to relax his watchfulness, for the purpose of throwing the captain off his guard. He left him frequently, but it was only to visit Catalina, who always received him with a gentle melancholy welcome, that went straight to his heart. "You come so seldom now; but I know the reason, and thank you," would she say. It was

evident that she labored under a deep feeling of oppression. There was no longer any elasticity of spirits, and the roses of her cheek gradually changed to lilies. Sybrandt's heart would almost burst with sorrowful tenderness when he saw how she suffered, under the sad consciousness that the arrow of death was pointed at her bosom, she knew not when or by whom, and that every moment might be her last. An inexpressible tenderness, a solemn sympathy, a union of feelings partaking of time and eternity, grew up between them; and their affections became almost as pure as those of the fabled spirits with which the imagination has peopled the region of the skies.

But the caution of the savage never slept for a moment; and, so far as anyone knew, he never availed himself of the absence of Sybrandt to neglect his employment, and leave the house, except for a few moments at a time. Still suspicion lingered in the mind of Sybrandt, and when, finally, the captain had finished his work, and there was no longer any pretext for retaining him, he relaxed not his vigilance, but continued to keep a wary eye upon him wherever he went. There are no people in the world, perhaps, so cunning and suspicious, so expert in surprising and so difficult to be surprised, as the sons of the forest. Continually at war, either with their neighbors or with the wild beasts, they are forever under the necessity of perpetual watchfulness. A thousand appearances and indications that escape the notice of civilized men, convey lessons of caution and experience to the savage; like the tracks in the forest, which the white man cannot see, they are visible to the Indian, and serve either as guides to pursue or warnings to avoid an enemy. Thus, notwithstanding all the care Sybrandt took to disguise his system of espionage, the wary instinct of Captain Pipe very soon taught him that he was suspected and watched.

One day, not many days after the period of quitting his employment at Mr. Dennis Vancour's, he came over to the mansion-house, and announced his intention of quitting that part of the country, and spending the rest of his days among the remnant of his countrymen in Canada. "You prevented my being burned by the Mohawks," said he to Colonel Vancour; "you saved my life, but you turned me out of doors. The Indian never forgets." The colonel gave him a variety of little presents that would be useful among his countrymen, telling him at the same time to remember what he owed to the white men, and be their friend whenever it was in his power.

"The Indian never forgets—or forgives," replied the captain, pronouncing the latter part of the sentence to himself, and grating his teeth. Colonel Vancour was not deceived. He said in his heart, "That fellow is the enemy of me and mine; thank God, he is going away forever."

CHAPTER XXII

OUR HERO LOSES HIS CHARACTER FOR MORALS AND GALLANTRY

THE next day the miserable cabin which the captain had built for himself was found shut up and deserted. The Indian had been seen at daylight, with his gun and his pack, wending his course to the northward, as was supposed, on his way to Canada. His departure freed Catalina from the load of cares, fears, and anxieties which had oppressed her for months past. This depression of Catalina, and the total cessation of her rural rides and rambles had affected the health of that young lady, and attracted the notice of her parents. They frequently questioned her on the cause, but she either denied the effect, or passed the subject off with evasions, which only excited increased anxiety as well as curiosity. They continued to urge her in vain to resume her usual amusements and exercises, until now that being freed in a great measure from her apprehensions of Captain Pipe, she soon gathered courage and spirits to smile and be happy again.

It was not so with Sybrandt. He could not conquer his suspicions that the captain was lurking somewhere in the woods not far off. He had traced him about three miles on the road towards the north, and there lost sight of him; nor could he find, by the most minute inquiries, that he had been seen on any other road leading from the neighborhood. But he thought it would be cruel to mention these suspicions to Catalina. He contented himself with being with her wherever she went, and perambulating about the mansion-house the better part of every night. Honest Dennis took him to task more than once for the nightly dissipations in which it was suspected he now indulged, and Sybrandt had the painful mortification of seeing that he was daily offending his benefactor almost past forgiveness. The news of his having become such a rake soon spread abroad; for what secret was ever kept in a country neighborhood? It reached the mansion-house, with divers handsome

additions, such as that of gambling, drinking, and seduction. The colonel and Madam Vancour began to behave coolly towards him; Catalina only reproached him with her looks and increasing paleness. She withdrew herself gradually from his society, and seldom came into the room when he happened to be on a visit.

Sybrandt was half-distracted with perplexing anguish. He asked of himself whether he should poison the happiness of Catalina and her parents, by telling them the cause of his nocturnal rambles from home; or leave the poor girl in ignorance and unprotected; or sacrifice himself, his character, and his happiness. "It is better that she should believe me a sot and a profligate," thought he, "than to wither and fade, as she did before, in the nightly apprehension of being murdered. If there must be a victim, it shall be myself." He continued his course of watchfulness, and by degrees the supposed irregularities of his conduct banished him from the society of her he most loved on earth. Catalina refused any longer to see him, and now seldom went abroad, except once in a great while to Albany with her mother.

Observing the increasing paleness and depression of spirits in their daughter, the colonel and Madam Vancour, after consulting together, and combining various circumstances, finally agreed in the suspicion that Catalina was attached to her cousin, whose ill-conduct had occasioned her unhappiness. In that case each agreed it was best to separate the young people for some time; and accordingly it was resolved to accept an invitation from a near relative of Catalina, to come and spend the winter with her in New York. "The sooner the better," said the colonel; "it is now late in autumn, and I will take her to town immediately."

The proposal was made to Catalina, who offered no objections, and the preparations were soon made. It was not customary to travel with so many trunks and bandboxes as young ladies do in these days. The next time Sybrandt called at the mansion-house with a message from his benefactor, Catalina said to herself she would see him once, only once, before she went away for so many months. "I owe him for a life which he has rendered of little worth; but I will see him once more," said she to herself.

She went downstairs, where she found Sybrandt alone. The old people had gone out to pay a morning visit. Sybrandt started at the alteration a few weeks had produced in Catalina, and she shrunk at his

hollow cheeks and sunken eyes. "It is remorse and dissipation," thought she. Rallying the pride and dignity of virtuous woman, she, however, addressed him with a frank kindness that went to his heart.

"I am going," said she, "to spend the winter in New York. We set out the day after to-morrow."

"Thank God! thank God!" exclaimed Sybrandt, with clasped hands.

Indignation swelled at the heart of the young lady at this ungallant, nay, insulting exclamation. A sudden paleness was instantly succeeded by a flush of rosy red, and a flash of her bright blue eye. This too passed away, and a paleness still more deadly succeeded.

At length she rallied again. "So you are glad I am going," she said, with a languid smile.

"Oh, yes, rejoiced beyond measure."

"Indeed!" said she; the tears gathering in her eyes. "Indeed—you—you but I cannot help admiring your frankness. I see you are no hypocrite *now* at least."

Sybrandt all at once recollected himself, and colored at the sudden perception of the apparent rudeness of his conduct.

"Forgive me, dear Catalina. I did not know what I was saying, or rather I was not conscious at the moment of the strange appearance my words would have. Forgive me."

"I do; but," added she, swallowing the mingled bitterness of wounded pride and affection. "But may I ask, cousin Sybrandt, if you really meant what you said?"

"I did; but——"

"Enough. Farewell. Since you are so happy, it is needless for me to wish your happiness. But I do wish it with all my soul. It will be long before we meet again. Farewell."

"Stay, dear cousin, dear Catalina."

"Dear Catalina," said she, with bitter scorn. "Do we thank God when we part with those who are dear to us? Spare your hypocrisy, sir, and take my last farewell."

"Catalina, before you go I will account for my conduct. Permit me to see you to-morrow; then all shall be explained."

"All is explained already. I am now satisfied, quite satisfied;" and she moved slowly towards the door.

"You will one day be sorry for this. Oh, hear me, I beseech you, now, since I am not to see you again;" and he placed himself between her and the door.

"Let me pass, sir," cried she, passionately. "I say again I want no explanations. Your words and actions have both been sufficiently expressive of late. Let me pass."

He obeyed her, bowing lowly and sorrowfully. At the door she turned full upon him, and, clasping her hands, exclaimed with fervor, "Thank God, I *am* going."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PIPE IS BROKEN AT LAST

SYBRANDT went away in bitterness of heart, but with a determination, if possible, to see Catalina once again before she departed, and give her a full explanation of his late conduct. In the meantime he did not for a moment relax in his vigilance. The night turned out dark and blustering; the frost-bitten leaves fell thick before the damp, piercing, north-east wind, whose shrill moanings mingled with the dashing of the waves along the pebbly shores of the river. The young man was on his watch as usual when the night set in, and as usual saw nothing to excite suspicion, until about ten o'clock, when he perceived the window of Catalina's room raised, and the little black waiting-maid standing with a light before it, calling to someone in the kitchen. Immediately after he fancied he heard a more than usual stir in the little copsewood, close by where he stood, and that he could distinguish in the pauses of the wind the suppressed breathing of someone near. The darkness was now intense, and no object could be distinctly seen save those immediately within range of the light from the window. A shadow passing to and fro within the room showed that someone else was there besides the little attendant, and his heart beat thick with agony while it whispered it must be Catalina. The low breathing still continued, and became

quicker and quicker. Shall I call out to Catalina to beware? thought he. No: that would only bring her to the window to see what was the matter. Shall I go and alarm the house? No: in the interim her life may be taken.—Quick as thought these ideas crossed his mind, and quick as thought he darted into the thicket, as he beheld Catalina approach the window to speak to someone below, and heard a clicking sound like the cocking of a gun. As he did so he distinguished a single low exclamation of surprise, and immediately someone seemed making his way violently through the branches. Sybrandt followed the sound as fast as possible, and once or twice fancied he saw something moving a little way before him. But whatever it was it evaded all his exertions, and, favored by the darkness of the night, escaped his pursuit. On his return the shutters of Catalina's room were closed, and believing her safe for the night, he determined not to alarm the family.

The next day Catalina, unconscious of the danger that hovered around her, took a fancy to stroll to the little rocky dell we have heretofore described as a favorite resort of Sybrandt, where he was once accustomed to retire to conjure up specters of misery and mortification. In happier times they had been used to visit it together, and it was associated in the mind of Catalina with many hours of innocent happiness. She wished to see it once more before she left the country; led by that attractive sympathy which forever draws the heart towards scenes of past enjoyment. The morning was one of the favorite progeny of autumn. The indications of the storm the night before had passed away, and were succeeded by a still, clear morning, a pure elastic air, that never fails to waken pleasant feelings in the heart where they are not asleep forever. As she passed onward the blue-bird chirped his plaintive notes of farewell ere he went to seek the summer in some more genial climate; the grasshoppers, awakened from the torpor of the chilly night, were sporting and chirping as gay as ever, forgetful of the past, and happily careless of the future; the grass under her feet began to show a pale and sickly yellowness, and every instant some portion of the party-colored robe of the woods fell whispering to the ground, again to mingle with the dust which first gave it life and maturity. All was calm, and beautiful, and touching. It was beauty smiling in the consciousness of being still lovely, yet sighing in the certainty that youth is past; that she has already gained the summit hill of life, is now descending into the vale, and though the prospect is still fair to look upon, it is every day contracting into a single point, beyond which there is nothing but eternity. The white columns of smoke ascended straight upward, uncurled by a

breath of wind, and presenting to the contemplative mind images of rural happiness here, of pure and spiritual bliss hereafter. But the feelings of Catalina were not in a state to enjoy the touching beauties of the scene, or the associations it naturally inspired. She passed onwards in painful musings until she came to the little quiet solitude, and, seating herself, soon became buried in the labyrinth of her own perplexities and sorrows.

The residence of Mr. Dennis Vancour was on a little rising ground, which overlooked the extensive meadows spreading along the river, and commanded from its porch a view of the mansion-house. Sybrandt saw Catalina depart; and the course she pursued, as well as the whispering consciousness of his own heart, told him whither she was going. He turned pale and trembled when he called to mind the circumstances of the preceding night; and taking the opposite direction, he hastened to the little glen, determined to hide himself and watch over her safety. He arrived at the spot before her, and concealing himself in the hollow of an immense oak that nodded on the brink of the high precipice, waited what might follow. In a few moments Catalina made her appearance, and seated herself, as we have before described, in a recess among the rocks and trees, just where the bubbling basin at the foot of the cascade laved at her feet against the mossy stones. There was something touching and sorrowful in her attitude and look as she leaned on her hand, and watched the foaming torrent tumbling down the precipice. Now is the time to tell her all, thought Sybrandt, and he forgot his great purpose in coming thither for a moment. Another moment brought it back to his remembrance. Here he remained quiet for somewhat more than half an hour, when he fancied he saw a pair of eyes glaring behind the thick evergreens that skirted the rear of the high rocky precipice. He shrunk closer in his covert, and in another moment saw a head cautiously protruded beyond the bushes. It was that of Captain Pipe. He saw him look cautiously round in every direction; he saw him lay himself down and crawl on his belly, dragging his gun after him towards the edge of the precipice, that he might gain a full view of his victim below,—and he followed him noiselessly, creeping like a shadow rather than a substance. At length the Indian raised himself on his knee, cocked his unerring musket, and carried it to his cheek. In an instant it was snatched from his grasp, and in another instant the Indian had grappled it again. It went off in the struggle, and Catalina, looking up, saw a sight that recalled all her tenderness and all her fears.

Almost on the verge of the precipice stood Sybrandt and the active, powerful Indian, struggling for life, each almost bursting their sinews

to force the other off the brink. Now one, now the other seemed to have the advantage; now the back of one and anon of the other was towards her; and then both seemed to be quivering on the verge of eternity. In vain she attempted to cry out—her voice was lost in the agony of her fears; in vain she attempted to climb the steep—her limbs refused their office. Still the deadly struggle continued, and she saw their quick pantings from the depth below. The gun had been thrown away in the contest, and now they wrestled limb to limb, heart to heart. More than once the Indian attempted to draw his knife, but Sybrandt gave him such full employment for both his hands, that he as often failed in his purpose. But the vigor of the youth was now waning fast, for he had of late become weakened by watching and anxiety. The Indian felt the trembling of his limbs, and heard with savage delight the increased quickness of his breathing. He redoubled his exertions; he grasped him tight in his arms, lifted him off his feet, and hurried him towards the verge of the rock. Sybrandt made a desperate effort; he placed one foot on the rock, and with a quick motion of the other tripped up the heels of the Indian. Both fell, with their heads from the precipice, and their feet actually projecting over its edge. Sybrandt was uppermost, but this was rather a disadvantage, for the Indian was enabled by violent exertions to edge himself on by degrees, until both were poised on the extremest verge, and hovered on the very brink, being determined to perish with him rather than fail in his purpose. Another moment and all had been over, when fortunately Sybrandt perceived a little evergreen growing out of the rock within his reach. He seized hold of it, and it sustained his grasp. With one hand he held it fast, with the other he suddenly pushed the Indian from under him, and he slipped over the precipice, still grasping the legs of the young man, who now clung to the shrub with both hands, making efforts to shake the Indian from his hold. But for some moments his exertions were vain, and only served to exhaust his remaining strength. Feeling himself gradually relaxing his hold, and every instant growing fainter and fainter, he gathered himself to a last effort. He extricated one of his legs from the grasp of the Indian, and dashed his foot in his face with such convulsive violence, that he loosed his hold, and fell among the pointed rocks which projected out of the pool below. Catalina heard the splashing of his body in the water, and not knowing who it was that had fallen, became insensible. Sybrandt raised himself slowly and with difficulty, and descended as fast as possible towards her. She waked in his arms, and by degrees came to a comprehension of all that had passed.

JAMES K. PAULDING.

To be continued.

BOOK REVIEWS

CHUNDA: A STORY OF THE NAVAJOS.
By HORATIO OLIVER LADD. Ill.
12mo. VII.+257pp. New York:
EATON & MAINS. Cincinnati: JEN-
NINGS & GRAHAM. 1906.

A fascinating story of the struggles for a higher life among various representatives of the Navajo Indians. At the beginning of the story we are introduced to the wild life of the cañons of Arizona and New Mexico, where the uncivilized and powerful Apaches roam at will. Professor Redford is visiting the shrewd and crafty natives to carry the message of the President concerning the new industrial school at San Gabriel for the Indian children.

Making an impressive and powerful plea, he wins a friend in Hot-si, a young Navajo, who accompanies the professor on his return to the school. Chunda, Hot-si's sweetheart, together with other Indian maidens, also goes. After completing her school course, Chunda visits her mother, whose illness and death lead her to study medicine at the "New York Medical School for Women." Graduating, she determines to return to her people to devote her life to alleviating their physical ailments. But before returning, she (now Miss Eulalia Lawton) visits the Adirondacks, where she meets Captain Nelson, an invited guest of Mr. Redford from Hampton.

Although ten years have passed since Chunda left the reservation, during which time she has grown into a woman, upon meeting Captain Nelson she instantly recognizes him as her old lover, Hot-si. He, too, has distinguished himself in educational lines and is overjoyed to find Chunda still faithful to him.

Placing their personal happiness second, they decide to devote their lives to elevating their own people. Chunda volunteers to suffer torture for her race before she is united to Hot-si.

Dramatic, indeed, is this story of the Indian lovers. In his descriptive scenes of Indian life the author appears at his best. Vividly does the wild life of the Navajos stand out before the reader in the opening chapter. Tragic is the death of Professor Redford as he attempts to save the life of Chunda.

The author has written a significant story of the struggle of the American Indians to take the first steps toward civilized life as it exists to-day.

A REPORT ON THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES. By BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH. Reprinted from the January, 1907, number of the *Annals of Iowa*. By the HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA, Des Moines, Iowa, 1907. 12mo. Ill. 39pp.

This pamphlet contains a brief statement of the legislative action which is securing the preservation of ancient public records in Iowa and elsewhere.

THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY.
By CHARLES FLETCHER DOLE,
author of "The Coming People," etc.
12mo. VIII.+435pp. New York:
THOMAS Y. CROWELL & Co., Pub-
lishers. September, 1906.

The author, who is president of the "Twentieth Century Club" of Boston, has long given mature reflection to the political, economic and social questions of the day, and we are pleased to find in this volume his ripest contributions to the theory of what government should be and of man's relation to his fellowmen in an ideal democracy.

It is the writer's purpose "to show what real democratic government is." Continuing, he says, "People have studied the outside of

the body of democracy; they have hardly begun to know what makes its life, or upon what its good health depends."

We are told that coöperation and good will are the mightiest forces in the world. Peaceable arbitration should be substituted everywhere for force and bloodshed. The ultimate end of all, the work of the world is no longer to vanquish others, but it is to secure the means by which the power, virtue, product and manhood of each shall enrich all.

We are also told that the true democratic theory of government is not to turn great men out of office, but to secure their services in the highest positions in the land.

No external authority is sufficient to control a man's will. That must be ruled from within, from his sense of right, of justice, of toleration and of kindness of heart.

The aim of the state is not merely to enable men to live, but to live nobly as Plato and Aristotle taught. There is no dividing line corresponding with the aristocratic theory. Civilized men cannot be separated from uncivilized, for all are only learners as yet in respect to true civilization.

It is not surprising to find the writer of these fundamental principles or premises at variance with existing conditions of government.

To him the freedom sanctioned in the testamentary disposition of vast estates, seems strange and anomalous.

The ballot being a valid expression of the human will, reason should be shown why it is given to some and withheld from others.

There is no evidence that ignorant and childish people are more ready than "better people" to put themselves into the hands of unscrupulous leaders.

The principles at the foundation of society which we reverence as justice, truth, honor, liberty and humanity, are incarnated in the lives and deeds of all true men who have been ready to give lives even for those ideas. Absolutism and autocracy must give way to good will and justice.

The writer believes that true democracy is not inconsistent with the use of needful force provided it is used without revenge or enmity. Order may be wholesome, curative and

humane in the face of a surging mass of animal men.

Transform the character of the criminal for the prevention of crime. Whatever tends to bind men together intellectually, socially and morally, tends to lessen crime.

Few kings possess such gigantic means of carrying out their own will as does the President of the United States. President McKinley acted as an aristocrat and not with the spirit of democracy in compelling the Filipinos to submit. "Could there be a more perilous extension of the power of the chief magistrate of a democratic people?"

Though the evils of militarism are presented with uncommon power, there is a defect in the anti-imperialistic argument, for the writer on several pages indicates that the growth of democracy is due to the ripening of the conservative ideas of our people.

In discussing the relation of the strong to the weak, of the educated to the ignorant, of the fair-minded to the degenerated, he seems to beg the whole question of human leadership.

To those who would make political capital out of the volume, there is little consolation, for the author declares that, "Party government no more deserves the name of democracy than does a constitutional monarchy." The spirit of democracy is union, coöperation, and our present bipartisan scheme is a survival of barbarism.

Dr. Dole holds up the undemocratic machinery of our electoral system and shows that in the management of our cities we are far behind less professed democratic countries.

He suggests strengthening the authority of the Mayor, but at the same time he would curtail the powers of the President.

In the chapter on taxation, attention is called to the fact that the further government is removed from local responsibility of the people, the more wasteful it becomes. The larger part of the national taxes is used to pay off war debts and pensions, and to keep us in preparation for war among the world powers.

The volume is epigrammatical and many gems of social literature are here given permanency. The book is strong, but it is suggestive rather than authoritative.

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. V.

MARCH, 1907

No. 3

CONTENTS

AN INCIDENT OF THE <i>ALABAMA</i> CLAIMS ARBITRATION	RALPH E. PRIME, D. C. L.	125
LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON (<i>Third Paper</i>)		134
THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK (<i>Second Paper</i>)	A. FRANKLIN ROSS	143
NEW ENGLAND'S ANNOYANCES, (<i>Poem</i> , 1630)		153
REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL GRANT (First Paper)	GENERAL AUGUSTUS L. CHETLAIN	155
PUSH-MA-TA-HA, CHOCTAW WARRIOR	A. C. CHASE	166
MINOR TOPICS:		
Commodore Perry's Officers		170
Lincoln and Stephens		171
The Story of the Iowa Public Archives		173
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:		
Letter of General Heath to Colonel Crafts		178
Letter of General Joseph Reed to Colonel Archibald Lochry		175
Letters of Colonel Crane, 1781, Lieut. Com. Owen, 1863		178
Letter of Dr. David Ramsay to Dr. Morse		179
Letter of Dr. William Eustis on General Wilkinson		179
Letter of J. Fenimore Cooper to Joseph B. Bryce		179
Letter of Lieut. Com. Geo. Upham Morris to Hawthorne		175
Letter of Mrs. James Russell Lowell to Mrs. Hawthorne		180
NOTES AND QUERIES:		
Antelopes for the Desert		181
Beavers in Eastern Connecticut		181
A Paris Political Squib, 1782		181
THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE: Chapters XXIII-XXIV		
	JAMES K. PAULDING	182

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AN INCIDENT OF THE *ALABAMA* CLAIMS ARBITRATION

NO man who ever knew Benjamin Franklin Stevens, who was for so many years the American Despatch Agent at London, but valued that acquaintance. Mr. Stevens was a rare man, and, notwithstanding his long residence in England, he was a thorough American and an intense lover of his country. He was born in Vermont in 1833,* and after a short experience at Montpelier, at Albany and at Washington, he was called to London to aid his brother, who had preceded him to England. He became so useful to Americans that his merits were recognized, and in 1866 he was appointed Despatch Agent for the United States of America, resident at London, and continued to discharge his duties as such as long as he lived. He died in 1904.

It was my privilege to make his acquaintance about ten years ago on one of my visits to London, and ever afterwards when I visited that city I enjoyed his fellowship, and looked forward to it as one of the pleasures of my vacation.

Mr. Stevens' service extended over so many years of our national history, in its most stirring times, in which he must have been an actor, that his memory must have been stored with many incidents, intensely interesting, connected with the history of our country and yet unknown to written history.

On one of my visits to England with my wife and daughters I spent nearly a week with Mr. Stevens and his wife in the George Hotel at Winchester. Sometimes together we were off in the daytime visiting things that interested both of us, and then again he and I would be off in the daytime separately, each visiting something of interest to himself, and in the evenings we would sit together in the enclosed and covered garden and talk until late, while he entertained us with incidents which

* See his *Life*, by George Manville Fenn, London, 1903, a most interesting book.—(Ed.).
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had happened during his residence in London. During that week he told me of many such events, in which he was an actor himself, which were of absorbing interest to me, and are utterly unknown to the mass of Americans, and have never been written, and which are probably even now unknown to any one connected with any recent administration of the national government.

I have been invited to write, as nearly as I can recall, the statement which Mr. Stevens made to me concerning one of those incidents, and which, so far as memory serves me, I have never spoken of to exceed on four occasions.

But to the appreciation of it by many of the generation since born, and who never learned much about its details, it will be necessary briefly to recall other things connected with the history of the Civil War, and there are many older persons who at the time were of mature years, but to whom, with the flight of time and the fullness of these later years, those events are at least very dim to recollection, and for them we will be excused if we to some extent recall some of the events of those days, and details which perhaps even they never knew.

The great and detestable heresy of the right of a State to secede from the American Union probably had its birth in Massachusetts as early as the differences of 1808. Encouraged by the disloyal acts thus early of New England men, John C. Calhoun, native of South Carolina, and then Vice-President of the United States, in 1830 set forth his form of the heresy under the name of Nullification. Andrew Jackson, another Southern man, a native of the Carolinas, but a citizen of Tennessee, was then President of the United States, and to him the nation owes a like debt as to Abraham Lincoln, for Andrew Jackson, with the ardor and violence of his Southern nature, stamped out that crime with a remarkable proclamation, and by his even more remarkable threat that for the first overt act he would place John C. Calhoun, the great Nullifier, and Vice-President of the United States, behind bars. In November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States; and from that time, if not before, commenced preparation for secession of the Southern States from the Union, the greatest crime against our country which history records, and which then ripened, and in April, 1861, culminated in the first acts of overt resistance to law and authority in our great Civil War.

The war was on. The Southern coast was effectually blockaded

against the entry of ships into Southern ports, and the issue of ships from them, and the blockade was officially proclaimed to the world.

For a long time before those events the subject of the abolition of privateering and treatment as pirates of vessels of war having letters of marque had occupied the attention of Great Britain, France, the United States and other nations. Negotiations toward an agreement to that end had extended over several years, and up to 1861 had not resulted in the adoption of that international rule. At that time, when the powers were all of one mind, Great Britain refused to enter into the agreement with the United States unless it was also agreed that it should not apply to the two belligerents in the American War then on. Thus, perhaps inferentially, but later in other clearer language, all in harmony with the desire of the shipbuilders and merchants of England, was there a recognition of the belligerency of the rebellious Southern States and a distinct position taken of unfriendliness to this country. These matters were publicly exploited in speeches delivered in the two houses of Parliament and by the Ministers of the Queen in public addresses all over the Kingdom, and the position of the government on the questions, then acute, no doubt encouraged in their acts such of the English people who were of that mind, and also naturally resulted in supineness and carelessness of public officials in the performance of the duties they owed to our country, then in fact and in law a friendly power. This was so much so that Mr. Laird, the builder of the *Alabama*, and a member of Parliament, in a speech in the House of Commons, found it easy, as he desired, to avow and defend his acts. Happily in the change of English sentiment toward us and ours toward them, such conditions have forever ceased and the results can never occur again.

As early as October, 1861, Confederate agents contracted with the Laird Company for the building of a ship of war, afterward named the *Alabama*. Another firm contracted also to build another ship of war, the *Florida*. The *Alabama* was the larger vessel, and her building progressed more slowly. She was launched May 15, 1862, made her trial trip June 12, and on June 23, our Minister, Charles Francis Adams, called the attention of Lord Russell, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to the character of the vessel. An examination was made, and the commissioners reported to the British Secretary that she was evidently a war vessel, and that the information given by Mr. Adams was correct. An order was given for her detention, but was so intentionally delayed in transmission that she was allowed to escape, and she was

actually manned off the Welsh Coast with the full knowledge of the British officers at Liverpool.

Practically the same is the story of the *Florida* and the *Sumter*, two other vessels.

The funds for building them, for their armament and supplies, and for the money chests on board, as also for their subsequent supplies, was furnished at Liverpool and other British ports; of all of which our Minister apprised the British Secretary, who refused to interfere, alleging want of proof, and took no steps to ascertain the facts for himself. He was, as early as March, 1863, apprised by Mr. Adams of what was going on, and that had called out from Lord Russell a letter, in which he stated clearly enough the duty of the British Government in the premises.

Our own Navy was busy enough in its blockade of our Southern coast, and the *Alabama* and the other rebel craft had almost free course in all other waters, and preyed upon our merchant ships on all the seas, and also on the vessels of the Treasury, which were unarmed or only slightly so, and pursued their business of supplying the lighthouses, and other peaceful duties.

The end of the depredations of these vessels was gradually accomplished. The end of the *Alabama* was a great event of the Civil War. She came into the port of Cherbourg for supplies and repairs in June, 1864. Our sloop of war the *Kearsarge*, in command of Captain Winslow, was in those waters. Semmes, the commander of the *Alabama*, had long warred against defenseless merchant ships and could not afford to refuse battle now, for the first time forced upon him. The story of that fight ought to be well known to every American. It is sufficient for this paper that the *Alabama* was destroyed.

The Treaty of Washington for the settlement of controversies between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Great Britain was negotiated in March, April and May, 1871. The high commissioners comprised, on the part of the United States, five well-known Americans, namely Hamilton Fish, then our Secretary of States; General Robert C. Schenck, then our Minister to the Court of St. James; Justice Samuel Nelson, then of the Supreme Court of the United States; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Senator George Henry Williams, of Oregon; on the part of Great Britain, five of the best-known

subjects of the Queen, namely the Earl of Grey and Ripon, at that time Lord President of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, &c., &c.; the Right Honorable Sir Stratford Henry Northcote, Baronet, one of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council; Sir Edward Thornton, Baronet, &c., then the Minister of Great Britain to the United States, Sir John A. MacDonald, the Canadian statesman, and Mr. Montague Bernard, of Oxford University. After thirty-six conferences of these high commissioners, the convention or Treaty was concluded at Washington in May, 1871, and is known as the Treaty of Washington, and the ratifications were exchanged June 17, 1871. The Treaty provided for the settlement of differences between the two governments, and principally the settlement of the claims generally known as the "*Alabama* Claims."

In its first Article it provided for the formation of a tribunal of arbitration, composed of five arbitrators. The second Article provided for the meeting of the tribunal at Geneva, in Switzerland. The third Article provided for the delivery in duplicate of a written or printed *case* of each of the two parties to each of the arbitrators, and to the agent of the other party, "as soon as may be after the organization of the tribunal, but within a period not exceeding six months from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty." The fourth Article provided that within four months after the delivery of such *case* either party might in like manner deliver in duplicate to each of the arbitrators and to the agent of the other party a *counter-case*, and the second paragraph of that Article provided that the arbitrators might extend the time for the delivery of such *counter-case* when in their judgment it becomes necessary in consequence of the distance of the place from which the evidence to be presented is to be procured.

The day of the week on which the ratifications were exchanged was Saturday, and, as stated, the seventeenth day of June, 1871. The six months mentioned in Article III would have expired with the eighteenth day of December, 1871, which was Monday.

While sitting together one of those evenings in Winchester, with Mr. Stevens, something suggested the Treaty of Washington and the *Alabama* claims arbitration, and he related to me the incident I am about to relate, and which I will attempt to recall as nearly as I can as Mr. Stevens told it, although after this lapse of time, nine years and more, I cannot pretend to give his exact words, and hence they must be mine, as nearly as I can repeat the story as he told it to me.

He had received, as the Agent for the American Government, a copy of the *case* of our government, and being the agent of the government for all such purposes, he was looking out for the arrival of the duplicate copies to be delivered to the British Government, and that was the reason why his attention was upon it. The last steamer which could have brought those copies for the British Government had arrived, and sufficient time had elapsed for bringing the package to him from Liverpool, but no package had come. His interest in the matter, and his general interest in all that belonged to his people and his country, led him on that Saturday, December 16, 1871, to take a cab and drive to the office of General Schenck, the American Minister. He entered the office and soon saw General Schenck, and asked him if he had received the American *case*, to which the General replied, "Oh, yes; there it lies upon my table," pointing to it. "But," said Mr. Stevens, "have you received the duplicate copies to be delivered to the British Government?" Schenck replied that he had not. "Well," said Mr. Stevens, "I think I will drive to the British Foreign Office and see if they have been sent there direct." Whereupon he left the Embassy, drove to Downing Street and to the Foreign Office and soon had an audience with the Secretary, of whom he inquired, had he received the copies of the American case pursuant to the Treaty of Washington. He was told that they had not been received. "Well," said Mr. Stevens, "I suppose that you will extend the time in case they do not come?" "Oh, no," said the British Secretary, "there is no provision in the Treaty for the extending of the time for the service by either party of their case, but there is a provision in the Treaty for extending the time for service of the counter-case, and I am bound to suppose that the learned and distinguished representatives of both countries in drafting that convention or treaty had the best of reasons for making a difference of provision in the one case from the other, and for using different language as to one act to be done, than as to the other act to be done, and that by so saying that the time might be extended for the delivery of the counter-case they meant it, and by not saying so as to the time within which the case itself was to be delivered, they consequently meant that there should not be any extension of time." Mr. Stevens asked: "What will be the result in case you do not receive the case within the limited time?" The Secretary replied: "There is but one result that can follow, and that is that the failure to deliver the case within the stipulated time is an abandonment of the provisions of the Treaty by the government that fails of compliance with that provision of the Treaty." After the

exchange of proper courtesies Mr. Stevens left him, and drove hurriedly back to the American Embassy, and was again in the presence of General Schenck, to whom he related what had transpired between himself and the Secretary. "Well," said General Schenck, "it is none of your business and none of mine; neither you nor I have failed in any duty; the responsibility must rest where it belongs—upon those who have failed in the performance of their duty." "But," said Mr. Stevens, "will you do nothing?" To which Schenck replied, "Nothing." Mr. Stevens then said "Will you lend me your copy of the case?" "No," said General Schenck, "you have your copy, and this copy belongs in the archives of the Embassy." "Well," said Mr. Stevens, "suppose it is missing, what then?" "Oh," said the General, "I do not think it will matter much; I do not think I will take any notice of it if it is missing." Whereupon Mr. Stevens quietly backed to the table upon which the document lay, and passed his hands behind him and took the thin book (less than one inch in thickness), and slipped it into the skirt pocket of his coat, and quietly bade General Schenck "Good-morning" and again took a street cab. Said he to me: "I knew that my printer had a new font of type, which, as nearly as I could judge, was such a counterpart of the type from which the American case had been printed, a copy of which I had, that no one but an expert printer would be able to distinguish between the two fonts. It was Saturday, and nearly noon, and the beginning of the customary Saturday half-holiday approached. Arriving at the printer's office I observed the typesetters all coming downstairs, and I accosted them, asking where they were going, to which I received a reply that it was the Saturday half-holiday and the 12 o'clock hour was striking; and I shouted to the line, "A shilling a day extra to each one of you who will return to his case." The line turned back. Mr. Stevens, as he said, entered the foreman's room and produced General Schenck's copy of the case and also his own copy, and said to the foreman: "You have a new font of type, I know, from which you can reproduce this book, and I want to have it reproduced by Monday morning early. It must be done, although to-morrow is Sunday, for great issues hang upon it." "But," said the foreman, "it cannot be done; this is Saturday half-holiday this afternoon, and all of the typesetters are gone by this time." "Oh, no," said Mr. Stevens; "I have met them on the stairs and promised them a shilling a day apiece for every man who would return to his case, and they have all gone back." "Well," said the foreman, "if that is so, it can be done." Mr. Stevens and he took the two copies of the case and tore them

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apart, they were distributed to the compositors, and Mr. Stevens left the office with the assurance that the job would be done and 100 copies of it printed in sheets by Monday morning at nine o'clock. Mr. Stevens, leaving, took with him the single lithograph print contained in the book (it was a rough map of our Southern coast, the Gulf of Mexico and the islands—the Antilles and the Bahamas), drove at once to a lithographer's and made the same arrangements with him to have a hundred copies of the lithograph plate ready at the same time on Monday morning. He then drove to a case-maker and binder, made the same arrangements to have a hundred cases ready in which to insert the book on Monday morning at nine o'clock, and then he went home assured that he controlled the situation. On that Monday morning, at the hour appointed, he appeared at the printer's office and took into his hands the sheets of the copies printed complete (even to the typographical errors in the original copies), and drove to the lithographer's, where he secured the copies of the lithograph print, and with the whole drove to the case-maker's, where he deposited his load. Four copies of the work were "assembled," and, as well as time permitted, stitched and put into four cases, and Mr. Stevens with them drove to Downing Street and to the office of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and delivered, before 12 o'clock of that day, the last day pursuant to the Treaty, two copies of the American case to Lord Tenterden, the Under Secretary, who had been named as the British Agent. He then drove to General Schenck's office and returned to him one of the other copies reproduced in the place of the one which he had taken on the previous Saturday, and told General Schenck the story of what he had done.

"Well," said I, "Mr. Stevens, that is a most interesting and wonderful story. Of course it has been told and gone well into history?" "No," said he, "never, save to a few persons, and you are one of that few, and it must never go into print as long as I live." "And," said I, "of course the United States Government repaid you the expense of what you had done?" To which he replied: "Never a cent of it." I said: "Why, what do you mean?" Said he: "I never presented any bill or claim for it. The fact is that before Parliament assembled that evening the news of the service of the American case on the British Government was well known to many, and the next day I was called upon by many, to obtain copies of it, and I sold to members of Parliament for a pound apiece every copy that I had to spare, and I realized more

than enough to cover the expenditure." "Well," said I, "how do you account for the failure of the Washington authorities to comply with the terms of the Treaty?" "Oh," said he, "when the next steamer arrived the bundle came. Instead of committing so important a matter to the hands of a special messenger to bring it across the Atlantic, or sending the number of necessary copies at the time that a single copy was sent to General Schenck and a single copy was sent to me, the bundle was entrusted to the custody of an express company, and as it was thought, in time for the last steamer; but the express messenger, knowing nothing of the importance of the package, treated it like any other, and it reached New York after the steamer had sailed."

To understand the importance of the act performed by Mr. Stevens, we must remember that it saved the arbitration at Geneva to us, and that the award of that tribunal to America for the depredations of the *Alabama*, the *Sumter* and the other Rebel vessels was a round sum of \$15,500,000.

RALPH E. PRIME.

YONKERS, N. Y.

(Anyone who has not already read Admiral Smith's article in our January number, ought to read it, while Colonel Prime's story is fresh in his mind.—ED.).



LETTERS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GEORGE
AND JAMES CLINTON.

XVI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 2, 1779

Two page quarto. Washington realized the importance of this war on the frontier, but had to leave its direction practically entirely to the two generals in charge. The right wing, under Clinton, went up the valley of the Mohawk as far as Canajoharie, then turning southwest; while Sullivan took the left wing up the Susquehanna. At the date of this letter Washington was not sure of Clinton's plans.

"Dear Sir, I have to acknowledge your favour of the 23d May.

The taking of two light three pounders in place of the artillery of the brigade, as you propose will depend entirely on the place of your junction with General Sullivan. If on the Susquehannah there will be no necessity to carry any artillery whatsoever, as General Sullivan has made adequate provision. If the other route is determined on I have no objection to your moving with these two pieces.

I do not conceive much danger from letting the mortar remain in Albany. Should I find that it can be employed I shall give orders on the subject.

If Major Wright and the officers you mention have behaved up to the spirit of their parole; and there are no reasons to suspect them; it might be as well to continue their indulgence.—But should it be otherwise you will have them properly restricted."

Entirely unpublished.

XVII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 10, 1779

Two page folio. This letter from Smith's Clove continues Washington's suggestions contained in his preceding letter in connection with the junction of Clinton's forces with those of General Sullivan. The letter, excepting Washington's own signature, is entirely in the autograph of Alexander Hamilton. The letter retains Washington's seal.

"Sir, I have received your two favours of the 20th of May and 6th of June. I hope before this you will have received instructions from General Sullivan, respecting the precise line of conduct you are to observe. Whether your destination shall be up the Mohock River or to form a junction in the first instance with the main body at the Head of Susquehannah, is a point I have left to him to decide and to give you directions accordingly. But as the preparations on the Susquehannah are completed and the main body all in motion towards Wyoming it is essential you should be ready to move either way at the shortest notice. Should there be any delay on your part, when you are required to commence your operations, the consequences may be very disagreeable. I therefore leave it with you to make whatever further preparations you think necessary to enable you to comply with a sudden call. The Quarter Master is directed to consult you and execute your orders. The providing teams or pack horses beforehand depends on the ease or difficulty of procuring them in a hurry—I leave it to you to do as you think proper; and I expect that you will be at all points prepared, instantly to comply with the orders you may receive from General Sullivan, for the purpose of a perfect cooperation either way.

In respect to what Col'l. VanSchaik mentions of his being deficient in the means of rewarding the Indians for their services, if he should mean only a want of money, you will give him a warrant on the pay master for the necessary sum. If he means articles of cloathing &c. you will be pleased to make an application to the Commissioners for Indian affairs who I dare say will do everything in their power to supply him."

Entirely unpublished.

XVIII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 24, 1779

One page folio. This letter from New Windsor is not alone of much historical interest but of importance as evidence (if indeed such further evidence is needed) of the original source of these letters. While this letter is not published in the Clinton volumes and is missing from the manuscripts bought by the State of New York, *the enclosure which was sent with it and is referred to in this letter was preserved*, and is printed in the Clinton volumes (vol. v, p. 95). In it General Greene gives a vivid and interesting account of the repulse of the English at Charleston. Count Pulaski had arrived at Smith's Clove on the 7th. On the 11th the English attacked Charleston. According to Greene they "left 653 upon the ground," while the Americans lost but two men in the action.

"Dr. Sir, That I might be more convenient to the works at West Point, I removed my quarters to this place on Monday last. I have only to add upon this subject that I shall be happy to see your Excellency here, as often as your leisure will permit.

There has been no official account received from Charles Town as yet that I know of; but I have no doubt but that there has been an action there, and that the issue has been in our favour. The inclosed is a copy of a letter I just received from General Greene, in which the affair is so particularly related that it is hardly possible it can be destitute of foundation. I trust we shall have in a few days the fullest confirmation."

Entirely unpublished.

XIX

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 28, 1779

One page folio, with extract of letter to General Sullivan, two page folio, and draft of Governor Clinton's answer to Washington, on third page. Letter franked by Washington, and Washington's seal in perfect condition. These items relate to General Sullivan's expedition against the Indians. The letter of Washington to Sullivan is published in Sparks, vol. vi, p. 275. The Clinton letter to Washington, written on the third page of Washington's letter to Clinton, which is entirely unpublished, adds greatly to the value of this item.

(Washington's letter) :

"Head Quarters, New Windsor, June 28th, 1779.

"Dr. Sir, I have the honor to inclose you an extract from my letter of the 21st to Gen. Sullivan by which you will perceive I have informed him that Lieut. Col. Pawling with a part of his command will join Gen. Clinton at Ononquaga and proceed on the ulterior operations of the expedition. As you left the matter to my determination whether the party should return or proceed on the Western service after effecting the primary object I have preferred the latter as the safest. By some intelligence from Canada received through Col. Hazen concurring with what Col. VanSchaick communicated some time since, it is said that 1500 men were sent early in the spring to the posts on the Lakes. Though I don't give intire credit to this account, yet as it may be true, I am willing to strengthen the expedition as much as possible, to avoid an accident. I am to request your Excellency will give directions to L't. Col. Pauling accordingly."

(Gov. Clinton's answer.)

"Pokeepsie, 1st July, 1779.

"Dear Sir, I have rec'd your Excellency's letter of the 28th ult. I have already given Col. Paulding Directions to make every necessary preparation and be in perfect readiness to march with the Troops under his Command on the shortest notice and that his men might be properly provided I have barely intimated to him in Confidence that he was to form a Junction and continue with the Troops destined for the Western Expedition as soon as I shall be advised of the period most proper for him to march, I will give him orders agreeable to your Excellency's report. From a letter I rec'd from Col. Hay I have drawn to apprehend that the want of money in the Qu'r. Mr's. Department may prevent his supplying this detachment with what may be necessary to enable them to move in season."

(Instructions to Gen. Sullivan.)

"Extract of a letter to Major General Sullivan dated Head Quarters, Smiths Clove, 21st June, 1779:

"On the 19th your favor of the 12th came to hand. I am sorry that you are like to be disappointed in the independent Companies expected from Pennsylvania, and that you have encountered greater difficulties than were looked for. I am satisfied that every exertion in your power will be made and I hope your eventual operations will be attended with fewer obstacles. I have had a conversation lately with his Excellency, Governor Clinton. He informs me that notwithstanding the interruption given by the movements of the Enemy up the River, a Body of Troops under the command of L't. Col'l. Paulding will still be ready for the proposed co-operation, two hundred of these being engaged for a more permanent service, after effecting the first object will meet General Clinton at Ononquaga and proceed with him to join you. It was the Governor's intention to conduct this business in person; but as the end may very well be answered by another, and as his presence here to influence the Militia on any emergency may be essential, I have advised him to decline the Command of the party. L't. Col'l. Paulding is a very good Officer."

We see from this that Governor Clinton was to have led the forces that joined his brother's in this expedition, but was advised by Washington not to assume command. This letter is of much interest in connection with the unpublished series of letters concerning Sullivan's campaign, from Washington to General Clinton, described above.

XX

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, OCTOBER 4, 1779

Six page folio, enclosing a resolution from Congress, one page folio. This lengthy letter from West Point was written during one of the most depressing periods of what John Fiske calls "a year of disasters." Washington's appeal to New York State for men and for commodities is strikingly made in this letter. The Count D'Estaing, with the French fleet, was off the coast of Georgia preparing to combine with General Lincoln in the attempt to recapture Savannah. The attempt failed disastrously (October 9th) and Washington had to give up his idea of attacking New York with the aid of D'Estaing.

A six-page, unpublished Washington war letter is an excessive rarity. Washington's communication to Governor Clinton of his plan to attack New York (occupied by Sir Henry Clinton) is interesting in connection with the special regret expressed by the editor of the "Clinton Papers" concerning "the absence of one or two letters in which it seem he (Washington) must have stated some grand movement against the enemy, but which is not disclosed in George Clinton's answer assuring him of hearty and strong co-operation." *Clinton's reply to this very letter is in the Clinton volumes (vol. v, p. 317), but this letter is missing, and entirely unpublished.* A few excerpts follow:

"Sir, I have the honor to enclose your Excellency the Copy of a resolution of Congress of the 26th September, by which you will perceive they expect the arrival of his Excellency Count D'Estaing, and that I am directed to pursue measures for cooperating with him, and to call upon the several States for such aid as shall appear to me necessary for this important purpose. In compliance with these directions, I have made an estimate of the force of Militia which will be indispensable, in conjunction with the Continental Troops and have apportioned this force to the neighboring States according to the best judgment I am able to form of their respective circumstances and abilities.

The number I have to request of the State of New York is two thousand five hundred. In forming this estimate, I assure your Excellency I have fixed upon the smallest number which appeared to me adequate to the exigency, on account of the scantiness of our supplies, and I think it my duty explicitly to declare that the cooperation will altogether depend on a full compliance with these requisitions.

If I am so happy as to attain the whole number demanded a decisive stroke

may be attempted against New York with a reasonable prospect of success. If the supply falls short the disappointment will inevitably produce a failure in the undertaking. In this case, Congress and my Country must excuse a want of enterprise and success of which the want of means will have been the unfortunate cause. If the honor and interest of the States suffer from thence, the blame must not be imputed to me.

* * * * *

These difficulties were sufficient to deter me from the plan I mean to pursue, were I not convinced that the magnitude of the object will call forth all the vigor of the States and inspire the people with a disposition to second the plans of the Governors, and give efficacy to the measures they adopt. I doubt not our resources will be found fully adequate to the undertaking if they are properly exerted—and when I consider the delicacy of the Crisis—and the importance of the object to be attained—I cannot doubt that this will be the case. On one side—the reputation of our Councils & our Arms and an immediate removal of the War present themselves, and the other—disgrace and disappointment—an accumulation of expense—loss of credit with our allies and the world—loss of confidence in ourselves—the exhausting of our magazines and resources—the precipitated decay of our Currency and the continuance of the War. Nor will these evils be confined to ourselves: our allies must share in them, and suffer the mortification of having accomplished nothing to compensate for withdrawing their operations from a quarter where they had a right to expect success and for exposing their own possessions to hazard in a fruitless attempt to rescue ours.

From the accounts received we are hourly to look for the appearance of the French Squadron on this Coast—the emergency is pressing—and all our measures ought to be attended with suitable expedition. Every moment is of infinite value," etc.

The resolution of Congress, which Washington enclosed to Clinton, is as follows:

"In Congress Sept. 26th, 1779.

Whereas Congress have received authentic information of the arrival of Count D'Estaing with a powerful fleet to cooperate with these United States; and whereas by the vigorous exertions of the said States the allied forces may be enabled to strike an important blow against the enemy.

Resolved that it be most earnestly recommended to the several States to furnish General Washington with such aid as he may require of them respectively as well by detachment from their Militia as by providing that the allied armaments in the United States be speedily and effectually furnished with ample supplies of bread & other provisions & that the most vigorous exertions be made for that purpose.

Resolved—That copies of the letters from Mons'r. Plombard to Mons'r. Gerard

140 LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON

of the 5th and 8th of Sept. inst. communicated by General—be also informed of the intention of our ally that the armament under Count D'Estaing shall operate against the enemy in these United States; and that General Washington be authorized and directed to concert and execute such plans of coöperation with the minister plenipotentiary of France or the Count as he may think proper."

This resolution is entirely in the autograph of, and signed by, Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress.

XXI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 30, 1780

Four page folio. This letter from Headquarters at Morristown has to do with the movement of the enemy from Canada and the defense of Fort Schuyler.

"I informed you yesterday morning that I had received certain advices that a body of the enemy from Canada, computed at about five hundred under Sir John Johnson, had penetrated into the state of New York by way of the Mohawk River, as far as Johnstown, and seemed as if they were about to take Post there, and that there were other accounts received through prisoners who had escaped from Canada, that a larger force than this was assembling at Montreal about the last of April, intended as it was said, to make an expedition against Fort Schuyler," etc.

The above is only the first paragraph of a long and interesting letter which may be found printed in full in Sparks, vol. vii, p. 63.

XXII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 10, 1780

One page folio. It is interesting to compare this letter with that written by Washington, on the same day, to General Howe, in which he says, "Use all possible vigilance and caution. It is not improbable Clinton's brigade may shortly reenforce you" (Ford's "Writings of Washington," vol. viii, p. 308). At this time the British were eager to capture West Point. Early in July, 1780, Benedict Arnold asked for the command at West Point in order to betray this stronghold. Washington, unsuspecting his brilliant general, consented.

Head Quarters, Heights above Springfield.

"Dear Sir. From the accounts which I have received from the Northward, I am in hopes there will be no occasion for your advancing beyond Albany. I put this letter under cover to the Lieut. Governor with a desire to forward it to you, in case the information he may have received of the retreat of the enemy will justify your recall. In such case, you will return with the utmost expedition to the West Point and put yourself under the Command of General Howe or General Heath should he have arrived from Boston—From the present apprehensions of the designs of the enemy you will be pleased to use every exertion to reach West Point should it be determined by the Legislature that you may come down the River."

Entirely unpublished.

XXIII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, OCTOBER 28, 1780

General Clinton to chief command at Albany and on the Frontier. The

Two page folio. This letter, written from Headquarters at Preakness, N. J., is of importance, as it contains Washington's appointment of main part is published (Sparks, vol. vii, p. 279), but the interesting postscript is unpublished. The words "turn over" (to this postscript) are in Washington's autograph, and the letter, being franked, has two signatures of Washington.

"Sir. As it is necessary there should be an officer in whom the State has confidence to take the general direction of affairs at Albany and on the Frontier, have fixed upon you for this purpose, and I request you will proceed to Albany without delay and assume the command. You will be particularly attentive to the post of Fort Schuyler and do everything in your power to have it supplied with a good stock of provision and stores; and you will take every other precaution the means at your command will permit, for the security of the frontier giving me the most early advice of any incursions of the enemy. I inform General Heath of your appointment.

P. S. (on 2d page)

I have been informed a great number of Arms have been delivered at Albany—by whose Order, or to whom I know not—but presume they are in the hands of the Militia, and more than probably by order of Col. VanScaick or Col. Malcolm.—I beg that every possible means may be used to recover them to the public; and no more be delivered to Militia."

XXIV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, DECEMBER 19, 1780

Two page folio. In this letter from Headquarters at New Windsor, Washington refers to an application he has just made to Governor Clinton regarding those citizens who were employed in the works under General Clinton. A portion of the letter follows:

“ Upon a representation made to me by Mr. Shephard the Armourer at Albany, I have applyed to the Governor for an exemption from military duty, for those citizens who are employed in the Works, and I do not doubt he will grant it.—Mr. Shephard mentions that the Works want many repairs to render them convenient to carry on the business during the Winter.—You will be pleased to direct the Quarter Master to give him every assistance in his power, and I shall be obliged to you, for paying your attention to a matter of so much consequence as having the damaged Arms repaired.—You will also enquire every now and then into the State of that Provision at Fort Schuyler and take every opportunity of keeping the supply two or three Months at least beforehand.”

Entirely unpublished.

(To be Continued)



THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK

(Second Paper)

III

LOTTERIES IN COLONIAL NEW YORK

FOR convenience of treatment we may divide the history of lotteries in New York into the Colonial period and the State period. During the former time there was a close conformity in the colonies to methods then in use in managing English lotteries. The same year that marked the suppression of particular lottery abuses in England marked the suppression of the same abuses in the colonies.

The same year (1721) in which private lotteries were suppressed by statute in England they were also suppressed in New York.¹ Private lotteries flourished from time to time in the colonies; but they existed for the most part in defiance of law. The preamble of the act of 1721 asserted that the sale of goods by lottery was detrimental to trade, that oftentimes double the value of goods was placed on them, and that through private lotteries frauds were being committed daily.

The steps in the organization of a regularly constituted colonial lottery were as follows: Those who were interested in the establishment of a lottery for a particular public service, petitioned the legislature to make a grant for that purpose. Acts granting lotteries might originate either in the Council or in the Assembly. A bill drawn up to authorize a lottery usually contained the full particulars as to the management of the lottery. The method of drawing the lottery, the names of managers, detail as to the number of tickets, price, time of drawing, etc. were stated in full.²

¹ *Journal of the Legislative Council of New York, 1691-1775.* (Albany, 1861.) p. 476. *Colonial Laws of New York* (Albany, 1894). II, p. 61.

² Any of the colonial acts may serve to illustrate the method of managing a lottery. *Colonial Laws*, III, 528, gives a statement of the method followed.

After the authorization of the lottery an advertisement publishing the "scheme" of the lottery was inserted day after day in one of the local papers. Usually the tickets of the lottery were sold by the managers themselves. The method of drawing a lottery differed somewhat in colonial times from that in use during and after the Revolution. Lotteries organized before the Revolution were drawn in the following manner: The managers of a lottery provided two books, one having its pages divided into three columns of tickets, and the other into two similar columns. The tickets in the first were numbered, the tickets in the three columns bearing the same numbers; the tickets in the latter book were unnumbered. The tickets in the outside column of the book having the numbered tickets were the ones sold to purchasers. When the time for drawing the lottery arrived the tickets from the middle column were placed in a box designated A. The tickets in the innermost column were left in the book as a means of detecting any irregularity in drawing the lottery. The unnumbered tickets in the outer column of the second book were to be marked "prize" or "blank." These tickets were placed in a box designated B. At the time of drawing, a ticket was drawn at the same instant from each box. The prize or blank that was drawn with a particular number was then announced.

The person who was so fortunate as to draw a prize was entitled to present his ticket to the managers and claim the amount of the prize. It was customary to secure the amount desired for the public cause for which the lottery was organized, by deducting from the prizes a certain percentage, usually $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 15% . Hence, to raise \$3000 on the basis of a $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ deduction from the prizes, it would be necessary to provide a scheme with \$24,000 in prizes.

Managers who conducted lotteries received a specified sum for their services, usually fifty dollars for conducting each lottery. Clerks were paid per diem, usually six shillings.

Public lotteries were introduced into the different English colonies in America at about the same time, that is in the middle of the eighteenth century. English lotteries, we have noticed, were drawn from 1743 to 1748, varying in amounts from £1,000,000 to £6,300,000. The War of the Austrian Succession was in progress. England met the expenses of the war by setting up lotteries. New York followed the example of the

Mother Country. The first public lottery in New York was established to raise money for military purposes in the same war.

The first act concerning lotteries in New York we have alluded to as the one to suppress private lotteries. The penalty imposed for violating the act was forfeiture of double the amount of the lottery, one-half of the fine to be given to the informer, the other half to the government.

The first act authorizing a public lottery in New York was passed February 27, 1746.³ It is entitled:

"An Act Raising the Sum of Three Thousand Three Hundred and Seventy Five Pounds by a Publick Lottery for the Colony for the more effectual fortifying the City of New York."

The preamble states that "by reason of the present war" large sums are needed for the public service. The price of tickets was £1, 10s.

The first venture of the colony in a lottery was not attended with great success. Some difficulty was met in disposing of the tickets. On May 3 an act was passed directing the treasurer of the colony to pay £1000 to fill up the lottery.⁴ Another act was passed at the same time extending the time of drawing the lottery from June 1 to September 1.⁵ The same act also provided that the treasurer might take tickets in the lottery at the risk of the colony to the extent of four thousand, if as many remained unsold. Another act, passed July 15, authorized the treasurer to take, at the risk of the colony, all tickets that remained unsold.⁶ So the colony presented the interesting spectacle of playing its little game very much by itself. Finally the lottery was completed and the *New York Post Boy* published the numbers with the result of the drawing stated after each number.

As soon as the lottery for the public service had been disposed of a proposition for another was made. It was read the first time in the Council on October 29, 1746, and was passed December 6, 1746.⁷ It is entitled:

³ *Colonial Laws*, III, p. 528. *Journal*, p. 907.

⁴ *Colonial Laws*, III, p. 543.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 573; *New York Post Boy*, Sept. 8-Oct. 6, 1746.

⁷ *Journal*, pp. 949-959. *Colonial Laws*, III, p. 607.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 545.

"An Act for Raising the Sum of Two Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds by a Publick Lottery for this Colony for the Advancement of Learning and Towards the Founding of a Colledge."

This was the first step in the founding of King's College (now Columbia).

The activity of the government in conducting lotteries evidently encouraged the setting up of private lotteries. An act was passed November 25, 1747, to prevent private lotteries.⁸ The preamble reads as follows:

"Whereas Several Persons of late have Set on Foot and opened private Lotteries within this Colony, which being under no Restrictions of Law, are attended with pernicious Consequences to the publick, by encouraging Numbers of Laboring People to Assemble together at Taverns where such Lotteries are usually Set on Foot and Drawn, for Remedy whereof Be it enacted." Those who transgressed the law were to forfeit double the amount of the lottery, one-half payable to the person who should bring suit, the other half payable to the government.

An act making further provision for the founding of a college was passed April 9, 1748.⁹ It authorized a lottery to raise £1800. This act expired because of a lack of sufficient contributions. It was revived by an act passed October 28.¹⁰ The same act fixed the time of drawing the lottery at November 14, and directed the treasurer to take all tickets remaining unsold at the risk of the colony.

In 1753 another lottery was authorized to increase the fund for founding a college.¹¹ The amount of the lottery was £1125. The managers were Peter Van Brugh Livingston and Jacobus Roosevelt. One clause of the act stated that any representative who should vote or consent to a different use of the money than for founding a college should be incapable of sitting in or voting in this or any succeeding assembly of New York. The act provided for 5000 tickets at £1, 10 shillings. The prizes amounted to £7500. A deduction of 15% from the prizes produced the required sum of £1125. The lottery was drawn in August.

In December following a lottery for the same purpose and of the

⁸ *Journal*, p. 999. *Colonial Laws*, III, p. 675.

⁹ *Journal*, p. 1015. *Colonial Laws*, III, p. 679.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 731.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 899.

same amount was granted.¹² The time for drawing the lottery was June 1, 1754, but it became necessary to extend the time to October.¹³ In the following December a similar lottery was authorized.¹⁴ All of the lotteries, therefore, which were held from 1746 to 1756 were in the interest of establishing a fund to found a college. The people, however, had responded but slowly to inducements to invest in the lottery.

In 1756 an act was passed creating a board of trustees to care for the lottery funds raised for the founding of a college.¹⁵ The trustees were also directed to receive "the contributions and donations of such persons as may be charitably disposed to be benefactors and Encouragers of so laudable an undertaking." The trustees were, the eldest Councillor, the Speaker of the Assembly, Judges of the Supreme Court, the Mayor, the Treasurer, James Livingston, Esq., Mr. Benjamin Nicoll, and Mr. William Livingston.

The next lottery was held in 1756 to raise £150 for the purchase of firearms "for the use of such Persons in the County of Richmond as are unable to provide themselves therewith."¹⁶ The military successes of the French in the early part of the French and Indian War raised the fear on the part of the inhabitants of Staten Island that hostile forces might be landed on their Island as a preliminary step to an attack on New York. In anticipation of such a contingency a general order was issued directing the inhabitants to arm themselves.

The next lottery was authorized December 1, 1756, to raise £1125 for the purpose of finishing a new jail in New York for the reception of prisoners of war.¹⁷ Five thousand tickets were issued at £1, 10s.

On the same day an act was passed "for appropriating the moneys Raised by diverse Lottery's for Erecting or founding a College in this Colony."¹⁸ The trustees of the fund were to use one-half of the amount in the interest of the college in such manner as they deemed best. The other half was to be used for the erection of a "pest house" for the

¹² *Colonial Laws*, III, p. 930.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 994.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 824. *Journal*, pp. 1285-1289.

¹⁵ *Colonial Laws*, IV, p. 38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1027.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁸ Preliminary to passing this act, the legislature repealed the section of the act of July 4, 1753, imposing a penalty upon any member who should vote to use the college fund for any purpose except for a college. *Colonial Laws*, IV, p. 104.

reception of persons with "Contagious Distempers." The act also provided that the treasurer should pay annually to the trustees the sum of £500 towards the support of the college.¹⁹

The Journal of the Council contains a record of a public lottery enacted November 27, 1756, "to enable Humphrey Avery of the County of Suffolk to sell and dispose of his real Estate in the said County by way of Lottery for the Payment of his Debts."²⁰ The act does not appear among the colonial laws and yet the lottery was widely advertised and finally the results of the drawing were published in the *New York Gazette*.

The next lottery was authorized March 24, 1758, to assist the City of Albany to discharge the war debt which the corporation had incurred during the French and Indian War. The amount raised was £1125.²¹

The following statement made by James De Lancey, the Lieutenant Governor, before the Council in 1759, indicates that private lotteries organized outside of New York used New York as a market place for their tickets:

"And here it may be proper to point out to you, a Defect in the Act against private Lotteries, for though the Law be sufficient to restrain them in this Government, yet it seems to fall short of the End proposed, as it leaves this, a Mart for the Lotteries set on Foot in other Provinces."²²

Accordingly an act was passed December 24, imposing a fine of six pounds upon anyone who should sell tickets from lotteries erected in other colonies. Nevertheless advertisements of foreign lotteries appeared in the papers shortly afterwards.

The next lottery was one authorized May 19, 1761, to raise money for the erection of a lighthouse at Sandy Hook. The amount authorized to be raised was £3000.²³ In the following year the amount was raised to £6000. The preamble stated that it was inadvisable to impose a tax

¹⁹ *Colonial Laws*, IV, p. 160.

²⁰ *Journal*, p. 1113; *N. Y. Gazette*, Jan. 24, 1757. Result of the drawing published *N. Y. Gazette*, July 10, 1758.

²¹ *Colonial Laws*, IV, p. 239.

²² *Colonial Laws*, IV, p. 377. Advertisement in *N. Y. Gazette*, July 8, 1762; Oct. 28, 1762.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 524; *Chamber of Commerce Records*, pp. 320-22; *New York Magazine*, Aug., 1790.

on the people for the building of the lighthouse, since the people were so heavily burdened with the expenses of the French and Indian War.²⁴

Another lottery of the same year authorized the raising of £3000 to be used in repairing the City Hall in New York.²⁵

In 1763 an act was passed "for raising Three Thousand Pounds by way of Lottery to be laid out in a Bounty on Hemp to be raised in this Colony."²⁶ Observing men in New York who noticed the conditions of trade between the mother country and the colony realized the balance of trade was heavily on the side of the former. Consequently specie was being drawn constantly from the colony. To remedy this condition the framers of the act giving a bounty for the production of hemp aimed to encourage the production of a raw product that might be shipped to England in exchange for British manufactures which came to the colony.

The practice of disposing of property by lottery continued in spite of the laws passed to prohibit it. On March 24, 1772, a more stringent act was passed.²⁷ It declared that all lotteries other than those authorized by the legislature to be common nuisances. The selling of houses, merchandise, goods, or chattels of any kind by lottery was forbidden. Grand juries were charged to inquire into infractions of the law, and the courts were directed to present indictments and impose the penalties declared in the act. The penalty for setting up a private lottery was the usual one of forfeiture of double the amount of the lottery. The penalty for selling or purchasing tickets was a fine of ten pounds for every offense. Adventurers who drew prizes were to forfeit them. But adventurers who drew blanks and turned state's evidence against the managers of an illegal lottery were entitled to recover the money paid for tickets with double the costs of the suit. On the other hand managers of a lottery who turned state's evidence against the adventurers in an illegal lottery were entitled to retain the proceeds from the sale of tickets in the lottery which they had set up. Obviously, the purpose of the act was to make participation in a lottery set on foot by individuals entirely insecure. The act declared further that any grant, transfer, or sale of land or goods, by way of lottery was void and would not be countenanced by the law. To encourage

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 667.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 621.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 737.

²⁷ *Colonial Laws*, V, p. 639.

informers to disclose any infractions of the law they were uniformly exempted from any of the penalties that might apply in their cases.

Another act passed March 9, 1774, directed justices of the peace to present charges of all breaches of the act to the grand jury. It also imposed other penalties for participating in private lotteries.²⁸

Some lotteries which were held in New York during the Revolutionary War must be classed as private lotteries, since they were not authorized by legislative enactment. They were organized by authority of the commandant of the city. One was held in 1780 to raise money to buy firebuckets for the city;²⁹ another was held in 1781 to raise money for the relief of "poor refugees."³⁰ The refugees were the loyalists who sought protection in New York. The overseers of the poor were made trustees of the fund of \$2700 to be raised by the lottery.

A lottery erected during the Revolution which had legislative authority was one to raise £2000 towards rebuilding the court house and jail in Ulster County. The preamble stated that these buildings had been destroyed by the enemy.³¹

Throughout the period which we have been considering it was customary for those who organized lotteries in any of the colonies to offer their tickets for sale in the principal cities of the other colonies.

The following advertisement appears in the *New York Gazette* for January 22, 1753:

"Scheme of a Lottery for raising One Thousand and Twelve Pounds, Ten Shillings, to be applied for finishing the Steeple to Christ Church in Philadelphia, and the Residue towards purchasing a Ring of Bells." Among the managers of the lottery was Benjamin Franklin. There were 4500 tickets to be sold at four pieces-of-eight each. Tickets in this lottery were offered for sale by the printer of the *New York Gazette*.

²⁸ *Colonial Laws*, V, pp. 351, 639.

²⁹ *Valentine's Manual*, 1862, p. 673.

³⁰ *New York Gazette*, July 9, 1781. "History of New York during Revolutionary War," Thomas Jones. Vol. II, pp. 149-150.

³¹ *Laws of the State of New York*, Albany, 1886. Vol. I, p. 61.

On March 5th another advertisement in the *Gazette* made this announcement:

"The first Steeple Lottery was not calculated to raise the whole sum necessary to complete the work, as it was judged more easy to raise such a sum at twice than at once; neither was it convenient that so much cash at one time should be taken out of circulation, and locked up for so long a time, as it must have been, if the Lottery had been large, and the time of its filling consequently longer, and by this method the adventurers have an opportunity of a double chance, as they may if they please, lay out part of the money they received by prizes, in new tickets, and those who were unfortunate in the first may not be in this."

The Presbyterian Church on Arch Street, Philadelphia, also held a lottery to provide money for the construction of a steeple. Tickets for this lottery were held for sale in New York by David Van Horne, Nathaniel Hazard, and Daniel De Foe.⁸²

In 1753 when funds were being raised by lottery for a college in New York a similar movement was made in behalf of the College of New Jersey. The lottery was organized in Stamford, Connecticut. Tickets were sold in New York by David Van Horne; in Newark, then the seat of the college, by the college treasurer; in Trenton by the Rev. Mr. Conell; in Philadelphia by Samuel Hazard.⁸³

Tickets in the various classes of the Academy Lottery of Philadelphia of which Benjamin Franklin was a manager were also sold in New York.⁸⁴

Another lottery which sold tickets in New York was one organized by the Lutheran Congregation of Germantown. The Rev. Mr. Henry Rapps, Lutheran minister in New York, was the agent for the disposal of tickets of this lottery in New York.⁸⁵

Two prominent lotteries which offered their tickets for sale in New York were organized in New Jersey, one to build a church at Bills Island near Bordentown,⁸⁶ the other to pay the Indians of New Jersey for their

⁸² *New York Gazette*, March 5, 1753.

⁸³ *New York Gazette*, November 26, 1753.

⁸⁴ *N. Y. Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1756.

⁸⁵ *N. Y. Gazette*, April 22, 1754.

⁸⁶ *N. Y. Gazette*, March 10, 1755.

lands.³⁷ Another lottery which offered tickets for sale in New York was one organized in Connecticut to convert the estate of Robert Sloane into cash so that he might pay his creditors.³⁸

It might seem to one who looked over the advertisements of lotteries in the New York papers that New York was the market for all the lotteries which were organized in the colonies. And yet a glance at the Boston or Philadelphia papers would give the impression that either of those cities were bearing the chief burden of the lotteries. The fact is all the prominent lotteries advertised and sold their tickets in the leading towns of all the colonies.

³⁸ *N. Y. Gazette*, March 8, 1756.

³⁷ *N. Y. Gazette*, October 7, 1762.

(*To be continued.*)



NEW ENGLAND'S ANNOYANCES

The First American Rhyme

The oldest rhythmical composition from the hand of a colonist which has come down to us is believed to have been written about the year 1630. The name of the author has been lost:

New England's annoyances, you that would know them,
Pray ponder these verses which briefly do show them.

THE place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanting that's fruitful and good:
Our mountains and hills and our valleys below
Being commonly cover'd with ice and with snow:
And when the northwest wind with violence blows,
Then every man pulls his cap over his nose:
But if any's so hardy and will it withstand,
He forfeits a finger, a foot, or a hand.

But when the spring opens, we then take the hoe,
And make the ground ready to plant and to sow;
Our corn being planted and seed being sown,
The worms destroy much before it is grown;
And when it is growing some spoil there is made
By birds and by squirrels that pluck up the blade;
And when it is come to full corn in the ear,
It is often destroy'd by raccoon and by deer.

And now do our garments begin to grow thin,
And wool is much wanted to card and to spin;
If we get a garment to cover without,
Our other in-garments are clout upon clout:
Our clothes we brought with us are apt to be torn,
They need to be clouted soon after they're worn;
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing,
Clouts double are warmer than single whole clothing.

If fresh meat be wanting, to fill up our dish,
We have carrots and pumpkins and turnips and fish:
And is there a mind for a delicate dish,
We repair to the clam banks, and there we catch fish.
'Stead of pottage and puddings and custards and pies,
Our pumpkins and parsnips are common supplies:
We have pumpkins at morning and pumpkins at noon;
If it was not for pumpkins we should be undone.

If barley be wanting to make into malt,
We must be contented and think it no fault;
For we can make liquor to sweeten our lips
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut-tree chips....

Now while some are going let others be coming,
For while liquor's boiling it must have a scumming;
But I will not blame them, for birds of a feather,
By seeking their fellows, are flocking together.
But you whom the LORD intends hither to bring,
Forsake not the honey for fear of the sting;
But bring both a quiet and contented mind,
And all needful blessings you surely will find.



REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL GRANT

IN the spring of 1860, soon after my return from Europe to Galena, Illinois, where I had resided for over a quarter of a century, I met for the first time Ulysses S. Grant, an ex-Captain of the United States Army. He was then employed as salesman and collector by the firm of J. R. Grant & Co., wholesale and retail dealers in leather, his father being the senior member of the firm. He had recently taken the place in the store of his brother Simpson Grant, who had been incapacitated by sickness, and who died the year after. His family, consisting of his wife and four children, was brought with him from St. Louis, Mo., where he had resided some six years after leaving the regular army. He lived in an unpretentious but comfortable house, in an eligible, though not central part of the town. His salary as clerk was small and barely sufficient for the support of his family, practicing as it did the strictest economy. He led a quiet life and was little disposed to make the acquaintance of his fellow citizens, but was highly esteemed by all who knew him. With his family he was a regular attendant at the M. E. Church. A free and very interesting talker, he entertained his intimate friends and neighbors by the hour in relating his personal experiences in the Mexican War, and when stationed for several years after on the Pacific Coast. He was not an active politician, but took a deep interest in all the political issues before the country. Although a Whig in early life, he supported Mr. Buchanan for President, but became a Free-Soil Democrat before the end of his administration. He took little part in the exciting political campaign of 1860, but favored the election of Senator Stephen A. Douglas for President, and would have voted for him had his time of residence in Illinois permitted.

On the evening of the 16th of April, 1861, four days after the firing on Fort Sumter, a mass meeting was held in the Court House at Galena to discuss the situation and the advisability of raising at once one or more companies of volunteers to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion, in response to the call of President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service. The court house was packed with excited citizens. Captain Grant was present and took a deep interest in the proceedings.

NOTE.—This paper has never before been printed, except in the *Loyal Legion Proceedings*.

The Mayor of the city, a Democrat, was chosen to preside at the meeting. Upon taking the chair, in a brief speech he gave expression to anti-war sentiments, in favor of compromise and peace. Indescribable confusion followed, and a motion was made that he vacate the chair. He begged permission to be heard, and said in explanation that he had understood the meeting had been called to discuss the situation, and he had given expression to his own views and opinions, but as they were evidently not those of the meeting, he would leave the chair. After some discussion, it was agreed that he continue to preside. Hon. E. B. Washburne, Member of Congress, who was present, and who was one of the leading spirits in this war movement, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted amid great excitement and cheering.

" 1st. That we will support the government of the United States in the performance of all its constitutional duties in this great crisis, and will assist it to maintain the integrity of the American flag whenever and wherever assailed.

2d. That we recommend the immediate formation of two military companies in this city, to respond to any call that may be made by the Governor of the State.

3d. That having lived under the Stars and Stripes, by the blessing of God we propose to die under them."

Spirited and patriotic addresses were made by the mover of the resolutions, and by John A. Rawlins, elector on the Douglas ticket the year before; B. B. Howard, a Breckinridge Democrat and postmaster, and afterwards a Captain in the volunteer service; Hon. Charles S. Hempstead and others. The meeting adjourned with the wildest enthusiasm, and cheers for the Union. The above gives but a faint idea of the intense war feeling that pervaded the entire North at the beginning of the war.

The excitement after the meeting continued unabated, and on the evening of the 18th another meeting was held at the same place, for the purpose of raising a military company. Captain Grant was chosen to preside. On taking the chair he briefly and with some embarrassment stated the object of the meeting.¹ Earnest and eloquent appeals to the

¹ Gen. Grant in his *Memoirs* (Vol. I, p. 230), alludes to a war meeting held in Galena in April, 1861, at which he presided. There were two meetings held and he presided at the second. The remark afterwards reported to him as having been made by Mr. Washburne on

patriotism of the audience were made by the Hon. E. B. Washburne and John A. Rawlins, subsequently a Major-General of volunteers and Secretary of War. I followed briefly, offering to enlist for the war. Volunteers were called for, and I was the first to respond and to sign the roll. This enlistment proved to be the first in the Northwest, outside of the city of Chicago. Wallace Campbell, afterwards Colonel of Volunteers, and J. Bates Dickson, later in the war Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General on General Rosecrans' staff, followed, with some twenty-five others. The next day Captain Grant, Rawlins and Rowley (the last named afterwards Aide and Military Secretary to General Grant) proceeded to the village of Hanover, fifteen miles south of Galena, and held an evening meeting, when Captain Grant made a brief but earnest address, followed by Rawlins. Captain Grant told the writer some time after that it was the first time he had ever attempted to make a speech. Some twelve recruits were obtained at this meeting. Campbell and Dickson went to Dunleith, twelve miles west of Galena, and recruited nearly as many more men. With the aid of the men who had enlisted the evening before, I canvassed the city and its vicinity. The next morning we found we had over eighty men, and proceeded to organize the company by the election of officers. The captaincy was offered to Captain Grant, who declined it on the ground that, having been a captain in the regular army, he ought to have something better. I was elected Captain, and Campbell and Dickson first and second lieutenants, respectively. Recruiting continued, and by the evening of the next day the company was full.

The company, then called the "Jo Daviess Guards," was accepted by the Governor, and after consulting with him it was decided to uniform it at once. Two leading clothing houses of the city took the contract to furnish the company with uniforms in four days. Captain Grant kindly offered to superintend the work, to which he gave nearly all his time. While waiting for the uniforms the company was not idle. It was divided into squads and drilled daily in marching, facings, etc., the men using laths for guns. Captain Grant volunteered to assist in drilling the company, and did so several times.

coming to the meeting after it had been organized, viz., that he had expressed "a little surprise that Galena could not furnish a presiding officer for such an occasion without taking a stranger," has no foundation in fact. On the afternoon preceding the evening on which the second meeting was held, Mr. Washburne met me on the street and suggested the propriety of putting Captain Grant in the chair at the evening meeting, as he had served in the army. I agreed with him. Mr. Washburne was present when the meeting was organized, and it was on his motion that the Captain took the chair and presided.

On the afternoon of the 25th the company left Galena for Springfield, the place of rendezvous of all the troops raised and accepted by the State under President Lincoln's call. The excitement in the town and surrounding country was intense, and thousands of people assembled to witness its departure. Captain Grant modestly joined the company on its march through the narrow streets of the town to the railroad station, carrying in his hand a small carpet-bag, and accompanied it to Springfield. He had with him a letter from Mr. Washburne to Governor Yates, which stated that the bearer was a graduate of West Point, had served with distinction as a lieutenant in the Mexican War, and afterwards as a Captain on the Pacific Coast, and recommending him for appointment to some position in the volunteer service, where his military education and experience in the army would make him useful to the State and country. On his arrival at Springfield, Captain Grant, who was plainly, if not poorly, clad in citizen's clothes, presented his letter to the Governor, who after reading it, looked at him critically, and with seeming indifference said that he did not know of anything he could give him then, but that the Adjutant-General (Colonel Mather) might have some employment for him in his office, and to call again. He called the next day, and was introduced to the Adjutant-General, who after some conversation said he knew of no employment he could give him unless it was to do some clerical work in the office, such as arranging and copying orders, ruling blanks for requisitions, reports, etc. The Captain replied that for the present he was willing to make himself useful in any way, and began his work at once. The next day he rented a furnished room and asked me to occupy it with him. I consented, and we roomed together, in the meantime taking our meals at the Chenery Hotel, until he left Springfield some ten days later. Captain Grant said little about the work he was doing at the State House, but I noticed he was not in the best of spirits. The fourth day after our arrival at Springfield I had occasion to call upon the Adjutant-General and asked for Captain Grant. I was shown to a small, poorly lighted and scantily furnished room, used as a sort of anteroom to that of the Adjutant-General, where I saw him sitting and writing at a small table. Upon my asking him how he was getting along he looked up and with an expression of disgust said, "I am going back to the store to-night. I am of no use here. You have boys in your company who can do this work." I begged him not to be hasty, saying that something better would undoubtedly turn up. We discussed the matter in the evening, and he decided to remain a few days longer.

On the organization of the 12th Regiment, the last of the six regiments allotted to the State under the 75,000 call, and to which my company had been assigned, I suggested to the company officers Captain Grant as a suitable man for the colonelcy of the regiment, and the suggestion was favorably received. A prominent and influential politician of the State, who had aspirations for the place, strenuously opposed his election, for the reason that an officer who had been compelled to leave the army on account of his habits, was not a safe man to be entrusted with the command of a regiment. I found it impossible to overcome the objection, and his name was dropped. When the election took place, Captain John McArthur, afterwards Brevet Major-General of Volunteers, was elected over his only competitor, Captain J. D. Webster, subsequently Brigadier-General and Chief of Artillery on General Grant's staff. I was chosen Lieutenant-Colonel without opposition.

On the 3d of May, Captain John Pope of the regular army, who had mustered into the State service for three months the six regiments just organized, and who at the same time had commanded Camp Yates, became a candidate for Brigadier-General of the six Illinois regiments, with Colonel Ben M. Prentiss of the 10th Illinois Vols. as his competitor, the field and company officers voting for the candidates. Colonel Prentiss was elected, when Captain Pope at once took his departure. The next day Captain Grant was detailed by the Governor to take the command of Camp Yates. The camp having suffered from neglect for some days, the new commandant at once set himself to work to restore order and discipline, which he accomplished in an incredibly short time. On the 8th he was appointed by the Governor mustering officer on his staff, to muster into the State service for thirty days the ten regiments being raised under an act of the Legislature then in extra session, to be held in readiness until called for by the general Government. He immediately went to Mattoon to assist in organizing the Seventh Congressional District regiment, and then proceeded to Belleville. Finding but few companies of the regiment to be raised in that Congressional District on the ground, he went to St. Louis to see, and to consult with his old army friend Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commanding the St. Louis Arsenal, as to the possibility of getting some appointment in the volunteer service of Missouri. He arrived at St. Louis the morning of the 10th of May, and on reaching the Arsenal found all the troops, regulars and volunteers, under arms and about to move on Camp Jackson, a rebel camp of instruction, in the vicinity of St. Louis. The camp was captured and broken up, and all its officers and

men were made prisoners. Captain Grant was a witness of the exciting events of that day. After consulting with Captain Lyon, Colonel Frank P. Blair, who commanded a regiment of volunteers, and some of the prominent and influential Union citizens whom he had known when a resident of that city, it was evident to him that nothing could be obtained in Missouri, and he started back to Springfield. On his way he stopped at Caseyville, a village six miles east of St. Louis on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, to visit his Galena friends in the 12th Regiment, which regiment had been stationed there and was held in readiness to move to St. Louis in case of necessity. Colonel McArthur, having been disabled by a fall that dislocated his right arm, was at his home in Chicago, and I was in command of the regiment. Captain Grant came to my headquarters the morning of the 11th, and was my guest during his stay. He was depressed in spirits, and seemed to feel keenly his lack of success in obtaining some suitable appointment in the volunteer service. During his visit he more than once alluded to the singular fact that an educated military man who had seen service could not get a position in the volunteer army, when civilians without military education or experience could easily obtain them. He conversed freely about raw volunteer troops, and the best method of managing them to insure speedy efficiency. The writer feels that if he succeeded in bringing his regiment to a high standard of drill, discipline and efficiency, during the two-and-a-half years he commanded it, it was due largely to the sensible hints and valuable suggestions of his friend and guest during these two, to him, memorable days. When alluding to the care and labor required, and the responsibility involved in the successful management of a regiment of volunteers, he said, "I don't believe I am conceited, but I think I could command a regiment of volunteers well; at least I would like to try it." Little did I then know, and evidently little did he himself know, the latent power that lay in that great brain, and what his almost unerring judgment and indomitable will could achieve, as was soon afterward demonstrated.

Later in the war not a few men boasted that even at that early time they recognized the wonderful military genius of the man. This is questionable, but if there was a man in the country who at that time, more than any other, came near discerning and appreciating the transcendent ability of this then almost unknown soldier, that man was his old friend and townsman, Hon. E. B. Washburne.

When alluding at this time to his army friend, Captain George B. McClellan, who had a short time before been placed in charge of the

organization of the volunteer troops of the State of Ohio, he said, "Of the many officers of the regular army who are coming up and receiving appointments in the volunteer service, I look upon Captain McClellan as one of the brightest, and I think he is sure to make his mark in this war." Whatever differences of opinion may have existed, or may now exist, as to the successful fighting qualities of this distinguished officer, all agree that as an organizer, tactician and strategist he had few if any equals; that he was a man of extraordinary and brilliant parts; and that, when in command of the Army of the Potomac, he had the respect, confidence and love of his officers and men to a remarkable degree.

After leaving Caseyville, Captain Grant returned to Springfield, and on the 15th went to Mattoon to muster into the State service the regiment raised in the Seventh Congressional District. On the 16th he proceeded to Anna, and mustered into the State service for thirty days another regiment, after which he returned to Springfield. Ascertaining that there was no further work for him as mustering officer, he left for his home at Galena. He was restless, and felt humiliated that he should be compelled to remain inactive when there was so great need in the country of the services of educated and experienced military men. Unable longer to endure this inaction, he left for Ohio to ascertain what he could do in his native State. He stopped at Cincinnati to see his friend General McClellan, who had recently been appointed Major-General of Volunteers, from whom he thought he might possibly receive a staff appointment, but found he had left for Washington to be absent some time. He then went to Covington, Ky., to visit his mother at the Grant homestead. It was evident that nothing could be obtained in Ohio, and he reluctantly returned to Galena. As a last resort he wrote the following letter to the Adjutant-General of the United States Army, offering his services to the general government:

" GALENA, May 24th, 1861.

COLONEL LORENZO THOMAS,
Adjutant-General U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—Having served for fifteen years in the regular army, including four years at West Point, and feeling it the duty of every man who has been educated at the government expense to offer his services for the support of that government, I have the honor very respectfully to tender my services until the close of the war in such capacity as may be offered. I would say in view of my present age and length of service, I feel myself

competent to command a regiment, if the President in his judgment should see fit to entrust me with one.

Since the first call of the President I have been serving on the staff of the Governor of this State, rendering such aid as I could in the organization of our State militia, and am still engaged in that capacity. A letter addressed to me at Springfield will reach me. I am very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT."

No reply to this letter was ever received.

About the 10th of June, Governor Yates tendered him the colonelcy of the regiment at Mattoon, which he had mustered into the State service the 15th of May, and which was afterwards accepted by the government as the 21st Illinois infantry. Captain Grant accepted the appointment, was commissioned on the 15th of June, and on the 16th assumed command of it. This regiment had been commanded during its thirty days' enlistment by Colonel Goode, an ex-Captain of the Mexican War. His habits were bad, and his inefficiency had not only proved a serious detriment to the enlisted men, but made him unpopular with its officers. Before the end of the thirty days it became evident that the regiment would not re-enlist for three years under the 300,000 call, with him as Colonel. The officers therefore united in a petition to Governor Yates for the appointment of Captain Grant, whose acquaintance they had made when he was a mustering officer, as Colonel. On the strength of this petition, the appointment was made. On the 15th of June its term of service under the State expired, and from that date to the 28th of the month, it was neither in the State nor Government service. The men were in citizen's dress and only partly armed. Its drill and discipline having been neglected, it devolved on its new commander to raise its *esprit de corps*, and make it what it became within the next two months, one of the most efficient regiments of its age in the Western army. The material of the regiment was exceptionally good. General Grant, when alluding to it at a later date, said, "My regiment was composed in large part of young men of as good social position as any in their section of the country. It embraced the sons of farmers, lawyers, physicians, politicians, merchants, bankers and ministers, and some men of maturer years who had filled such positions themselves." Colonel Grant joined his regiment at Camp Yates near Springfield, where it was quartered and where it remained until after it had been mustered into the Government service by Captain Pitcher of the regular army, on the 28th of June.

It is well known that Colonel Grant at this time was a poor man, having been unfortunate in every enterprise he had undertaken since leaving the Army, and the question with him was how to get the money to buy himself a uniform, horse and equipment. He wrote to his father at Galena explaining the situation, and asking him for the loan of \$400 to buy the outfit. His father, who had often before aided him, for some reason declined to help him now. The junior member of the firm of J. R. Grant & Co., Mr. E. A. Collins, an anti-war Democrat, who had a fondness for the Captain, learning of the father's refusal, quietly sent him a draft for the amount needed. General Grant in after years took special pains to show his appreciation of the generous act by bestowing on the two sons of his friend, both of whom were successful business men, and thoroughly loyal to the government, substantial favors.

The 21st Regiment having been ordered to Quincy, its Colonel, for the purpose of discipline and speedy efficiency, decided to march it across the country instead of transporting it by rail. On the third of July the march was commenced from Camp Yates, and continued to a point a few miles beyond the Illinois River, where orders were received changing its destination to Ironton, Mo., to be transported thither by steamer as far as St. Louis, and from thence by rail to its destination. It returned to Naples on the river and awaited transportation. The steamer having been detained by grounding on a sand-bar, the regiment was hurriedly transported by rail to Palmyra, Mo., via Quincy, where it soon began active service by successfully fighting organized bodies of the enemy and the bushwhackers of that region. Just before leaving Illinois, Colonel Grant bought his celebrated horse "Claybank" (dubbed by his regiment "Old Yellow"), so well known to the Army of the Tennessee in after years. Soon after reaching Missouri he provided himself with a uniform. Prior to that time he had worn nothing to distinguish him from the men in the ranks, except an old cavalry sabre he had obtained from the arsenal at Springfield. Here his men were uniformed and armed with Belgian muskets.

I will digress to say that in the latter part of the month of July President Lincoln sent a circular letter to the Illinois members of Congress, stating that it had been decided to appoint seven brigadier-generals for the State, and requesting them to agree upon and recommend for appointment seven names. Colonel Grant was named by the member from the First Congressional District, Hon. E. B. Washburne, and received the

unanimous vote of the delegation, the only one of the number so favored. He was appointed the sixth of August, and his commission was dated the seventeenth of May, 1861.

I have in this brief narrative given numerous incidents connected with the history of this most remarkable man, from the time he presided over a war meeting at Galena six days after the firing on Fort Sumter, until soon after he had assumed the command of the 21st Regiment Illinois Infantry. It is worthy of note, as showing the singular and admirable character of this truly great man, that amid all the disappointments, discouragements and failures to obtain some suitable appointment in the volunteer service, or to get into some position where he could make himself useful to his country in its time of need, he was ever patient and uncomplaining; not inordinately ambitious, and, apparently forgetful of himself, he thought only of his country, and how he could best serve it. In this he showed himself a true American citizen, a pure patriot, and a noble, unselfish man.

Soon after General Grant had received his commission as Brigadier-General he was placed in command of the District of Southeast Missouri by General Fremont, who commanded the Department of the Missouri. His district comprised Southeast Missouri, Southern Illinois, and a portion of West Kentucky, with headquarters at Cairo. About the 1st of September, General Grant learned that a force of Confederates was moving rapidly on Paducah, Ky., to occupy it. It was a point of strategic importance, as it commanded the mouth of the Tennessee River. General Grant informed General Fremont by telegraph of the situation, and asked permission to move on Paducah at once. Receiving no reply, on his own responsibility he started by steamer with two regiments of infantry and a battery of light artillery, and on the early morning of the sixth of September reached Paducah, and occupied it only six or eight hours in advance of the enemy. He fought the battle of Belmont on the 7th of November, and although not a decided Union victory, the result proved of great advantage to the Union cause in the Southwest.

Soon after this he was assigned to the new District of Cairo, to include, in addition to his old district, the territory lying on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. A few days after the occupancy of Paducah, Brigadier-General Charles F. Smith reported to General Grant for assignment to duty, and was placed in command of the post of Paducah and the territory lying south and east on the Tennessee and Cumberland

Rivers. This officer had close relations with General Grant for the next six months. He was one of the oldest and most accomplished officers of the regular army. He was a splendid looking soldier, tall, slender and straight, with close cut gray hair and a heavy white moustache. He was the embodiment of the ideal soldier, and his appearance on the field was always the signal for cheers by the soldiery under him. I knew him well, and appreciated his soldierly qualities. I served directly under him in the fall and early winter of 1861, when I commanded the post of Smithland, twelve miles above Paducah, and was engaged in constructing, under engineers, fortifications to command the mouth of the Cumberland River. I saw him often when he visited the Post to consult with the engineers, and to inspect their work. General Grant in his *Memoirs* thus alludes to him: "His personal courage was unquestioned, his judgment and professional acquirements were unsurpassed, and he had the confidence of those he commanded, as well as those over him."

AUGUSTUS L. CHETLAIN,
Bvt. Maj. Gen. U. S. Vols.

ROGERS PARK, ILL.

(Read before the Illinois Logal Legion.)

(*To be continued.*)



PUSH-MA-TA-HA, CHOCTAW WARRIOR.

THE Mississippi Department of Archives and History has just added to its valuable collection of historical relics a fine portrait of Push-ma-ta-ha, the Choctaw warrior.

Push-ma-ta-ha was a notable character in Mississippi's early history. He was an Indian of somewhat remarkable personality, and the following sketch of his life, in which especial effort is made to separate the veritable from the merely legendary in anecdote and description, may be of interest to many.

He was born about 1764, in east Mississippi, near the Noxubee River. Little or no record of his family survives. Only is it of record that he had one sister who in maturity lived in Newton County, whose name was Na-ho-ti-ma ("She who makes and gives things"), and whose son, Oklahoma ("the beautiful one") succeeded Push-ma-ta-ha as mingo, or chief (and whose name is preserved to history through being chosen as the name of the newest of the Territories. No other Indian has ever had a like distinction). This fact is presumptive evidence that the latter was born of a line of chiefs, though some writers have asserted that he was of plebeian stock.

Of the youth of Pushmataha (the hyphen of aboriginal custom is not imperative in historical writing) nothing is known, beyond the fact that he was of valorous ambition, and was on the warpath before he was out of his 'teens.

The story of his Mexican exploits belongs in time to a few years after this. It tells how he went to Mexico, and how by night and alone he entered a village of the Toraque Indians, killed seven men and set fire to a number of tents, and escaped unharmed. Also how he then headed an expedition against the Toraquas, and in a bloody fight in which he was victorious, gained eight scalps. But this story, though characteristic of Pushmataha's boasted exploits, is ignored by the more reliable historians, and we must pass it by as probably mythical.

This is unfortunate, as it would serve to partly fill quite a gap in his life, concerning which no record exists, to wit, the fifteen years or more

preceding 1810. At the latter date we find him living on the Tombigbee River, for the time oblivious of war and arms, and glorying principally in being the crack ball player of the Choctaw Nation.

But not for long. Soon there came rumors of the outbreak of a great "white man's war," and the fiery-tongued Tecumseh came down from the North, eager to inflame the hearts of all the redmen against the race that rested not in driving them from their homes and hunting grounds. The Creeks listened to him, so did the Chickasaws, the Osages, and the Seminoles. The Choctaws hesitated and called a convention of their nation to deliberate the matter. The sentiment of the assemblage was against an alliance with either side, and a neutral stand was urged by all except Pushmataha. This leader did not speak until the last day of the meeting. Then he rose and said:

"The Creeks were once our friends. They have now joined the English, and we must follow different trails. When our fathers took the hand of Washington, they told him the Choctaws would always be friends to his nation, and Pushmataha cannot be false to these promises. I am now ready to fight both the English and the Creeks. I and my warriors are going to Tuscaloosa, and when you hear from us again, the Creek fort will be in ashes."

Pushmataha fulfilled his own prophecy a few weeks later, and throughout the war fought the Creeks and also the Seminoles, with energy and success, thus rendering valuable aid to the Americans, and winning for himself a general's uniform and title, of which he was ever after proud. General Jackson spoke in terms of high praise of the value of Pushmataha's service to the American cause, and the Legislature of Mississippi gave him a vote of thanks, a "rifle-gun" valued at \$50, and an annuity of \$50 for five years. All this as "a testimonial of the high opinion which the citizens of the Territory entertained of his friendly disposition toward the white people and of the services rendered by him in our late war." The original draft of this resolution may be seen among the relics kept in the Hall of Fame in the Mississippi State Capitol.

Pushmataha was wont to claim—his biographers assert—that he chose his name, and to translate it, "his warrior's seat is finished." But the historian, Halbert—undoubtedly the highest authority on matters pertaining to the Choctaws—declares that this is all nonsense. He contends that the name was in all probability given to him in boyhood, and

that it was no doubt originally "A Pushmataha," readily translated "the sapling is ready for him."

A number of authors have classed with the fine speeches of unlettered Indians the following apocryphal incident, concerning our warrior:

"Pushmataha, when once asked who his parents were, replied: 'I had no father, I had no mother. The lightning rent the living oak and Pushmataha sprang forth a warrior.'"

(Had Longfellow heard of him when he wrote the similar story of the birth of Wattawamat?—ED.)

In some instances this speech is expanded with metaphors, leading, as Halbert satirically remarks, "to the suspicion that Pushmataha had spent some of his leisure hours in learning, the songs of Selma." Halbert further says: "This speech, purporting to have come from the mouth of Pushmataha, with various poetical versions for nearly two generations, has been palmed off on the credulity of the reading world. But tracked back to its birth and viewed in its swaddling clothes, it is a very commonplace affair."

The historian then identifies this legend with an anecdote told by Dr. Gideon Lincecum, who knew the Choctaw warrior well. The doctor states that Pushmataha, in his later years, was notoriously given to drunkenness. When on his big sprees he was wont, especially if any white people were present to laugh at it, to get off the following speech: "I no had any father, I no had any mother; lightning hit a stump and Pushmataha came hopping out this way."

In December, 1824, Pushmataha went to Washington with a Choctaw delegation, their object being, in Indian phrase, to "brighten up the chain of peace" between the nation and the American people. The delegation was received with favor by President Monroe and Secretary Calhoun, and also went to call on General Lafayette. Indeed, the most distinguished consideration was given to Pushmataha on all sides, also far too many drinks for one of his proclivities. He was more or less drunk all of the time, and contracted a severe cold by an all-night bout when the thermometer stood at zero. This developed a quinsy, and attacks of croup followed, in one of which he strangled to death on Christmas Eve. His last coherent words were: "When I am gone, let them fire the big guns over me."

A procession over a mile long, on December 27, followed the dead warrior to his place of burial in the Congressional Cemetery, and, in accordance with his wish, a volley of musketry was fired over his grave. This grave is marked by a fine monument, erected by the warrior's brother chiefs of the Choctaw nation. On the stone, in addition to the facts of his birth and death, there is inscribed the following tribute, written by John Randolph of Roanoke: "Pushmataha was a warrior of great distinction. He was wise in council, eloquent in an extraordinary degree, and on all occasions and under all circumstances the white man's friend."

Pushmataha was an Indian of striking appearance, though not tall. Lincecum says that he was about five feet six inches in height, noticeably erect, and heavily built, becoming quite fleshy in his later years. He had both the faults and virtues of his race. Though a relentless enemy, he was also a generous and loyal friend, capable of generosity toward those in need, and scrupulously observant of his promises to his tribe and his friends. No doubt General Jackson was justified in speaking of him as "the greatest and best Indian he had ever known."

Certainly an Indian chief who could win such praise from a man like Jackson, and receive the honor of a military funeral, burial in the Congressional Cemetery, and an epitaph from the pen of John Randolph, was no common man.

In conclusion, I may quote Halbert's words concerning this somewhat remarkable character:

"Pushmataha was a genuine patriot, and in all his official words and acts he was moved by the highest regard for the interest and welfare of his people. He died just about the time when the old order was passing away, and the new order, with its missionaries, its schools, its churches, and its translations of the sacred Scriptures, was coming in to revolutionize all the ways and ideas of the Choctaw. Had Providence decreed for him a later existence under the light of a Christian civilization, he might have achieved for himself a higher and a nobler fame, and his magnificent patriotism might have prompted him to work out for his people a higher and happier destiny than that by which they are at present environed. Pushmataha, no doubt in his public capacity and in the light of his surroundings, did the best he could. Let us forget his frailties and cherish his memory as one of the great aboriginal heroes of the South."

A. C. CHASE.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

MINOR TOPICS.

COMMODORE PERRY'S OFFICERS.

Of all the officers who were on the various ships which accompanied Commodore M. C. Perry on his famous expedition in 1852 with an American squadron to the China seas and Japan to open the ports of the latter country to commerce, there are only six officers who are now on the Navy's rolls. These are Rear-Admirals George B. Balch, John H. Upshur and Oscar F. Stanton; Chief Engineers Edwin Fithian and Edward D. Robie, and Lieut.-Commander George F. Morrison. Chief Engineers Fithian and Robie also have the rank of rear-admiral, which was conferred upon them under the provisions of the Naval Appropriation bill of the last session of Congress. Rear-Admiral Balch has been in the service longer than any other officer now on the rolls of the Navy, entering in 1837, when sixteen years old. He took part in the war with Mexico, and was on the sloop *Plymouth* under Perry, with the rank of lieutenant. During a visit of the *Plymouth* to China Lieut. Balch was placed in command of the outpost at Shanghai, and in a fight between the rebels and Imperialists was wounded in the hip. Rear-Admiral Balch also fought throughout the civil war, was superintendent of the Naval Academy from 1871 until 1881, and was retired for age in January, 1883. He is now residing in Ridgewood, N. J. Rear-Admiral Upshur was born in Virginia, December 5, 1823, and entered the Navy in 1841. He was with the home squadron during the Mexican war, and was a passed midshipman on the storeship *Supply* in Perry's expedition. He took part in the civil war, and was retired on his own application in 1885, after a service of over forty years. Rear-Admiral Upshur is now living in Washington.

Rear-Admiral Stanton was a midshipman on the frigate *Susquehanna* in the East Indies, China Seas, and in the Japan expedition, also serving on the *Saratoga* of that squadron. He entered the service in 1849, served on the Pacific squadron, West Indian flying squadron, and West Gulf and East Gulf blockading squadrons during the civil war. He was retired on his own application in 1894, receiving the rank of Rear-Admiral, and is now in New London. Chief Engineer Fithian entered the service from New Jersey as a third assistant engineer in 1848, and was on the *Susquehanna* as a second assistant engineer in the expedition to Japan. During the civil war he was a construction engineer. He was made a chief engineer in 1859, and was retired for age in 1882. He is now at Bridgeton, N. J. Chief Engineer Robie is a native of Vermont, and entered the service as a third assistant engineer in 1852. His first assignment was to the steam frigate *Mississippi*, the flagship of Commodore Perry. He assisted in building the first steam railroad, and in running the first locomotive in Japan. He was commissioned chief engineer in 1861, took

part in the civil war, and was retired in 1893. During the war with Spain he was engaged in selecting vessels for the auxiliary naval force. Chief Engineer Robie is now in Washington. Lieut.-Commander Morrison entered the Navy as a midshipman, and was on the *Plymouth* of the East India squadron from 1851 until 1855. He was promoted to master in 1855, being retired in February, 1860, for disability not incident to the service. He was given the rank of Lieutenant-Commander in 1867, and is in St. Elizabeth Asylum in Washington.—(N. Y. *Evening Post*.)

LINCOLN AND STEPHENS

The Hampton Roads Peace Conference of 1865, at which Alexander H. Stephens, Judge J. A. Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter met Lincoln and Seward in an effort to establish peace between the North and South, and so to put an end to bloodshed had ended in failure. Lincoln and Stephens had met in 1847, when both were members of Congress, and something very like warm personal friendship had developed between them; this was strengthened at Hampton Roads. When they came to say good-by, the President of the United States remarked with feeling to the Vice-President of the Confederacy:

"Well, Stephens, there has been nothing we could do for our country. Is there anything I can do for you personally?"

"Nothing." Then the Vice-President's pale face brightened. "Unless you can send me my nephew, who has been for twenty months a prisoner on Johnson's Island."

Mr. Lincoln's face also brightened. "I shall be glad to do it. Let me have his name." He took the name down in his notebook.

When he returned to Washington he telegraphed to Johnson's Island, directing that Lieut. Stephens be put on his parole, with orders to report at once to President Lincoln in Washington.

An officer came into the prison and called out:

"Lieut. John A. Stephens, of Georgia."

The Lieutenant had no idea what was wanted of him; he thought he was being called out to be shot. He had been captured at the siege of Vicksburg, and had been imprisoned five months in New Orleans, and then carried to Johnson's Island.

When he reported at headquarters he was told that he was to report at once to President Lincoln. So he was driven across the ice on Lake Erie in a sleigh twenty miles to Sandusky, and went on to Washington.

There at once he sought the President, and, having sent in his name, he was immediately ushered into Lincoln's presence. He found the President sitting on a table in a half-reclining position, and talking with Secretary Seward. Lincoln rose, shook his hand very cordially, and said:

"I saw your uncle, Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, recently at Hampton Roads."

Lieut. Stephens had not heard of the peace conference, and this was his first direct news of his family since his imprisonment. President Lincoln continued:

"I told your uncle I would send you to him, Lieutenant."

Naturally, the Lieutenant was deeply moved and grateful.

"You have the freedom of the city," Lincoln continued, "as long as you please to remain here. When you want to go home, let me know, and I will pass you through the lines."

The Lieutenant's appreciation and joy can be imagined. Lincoln talked on pleasantly, telling him of the Hampton Roads Conference, asking him questions, and making the hour a memorable one in many ways.

The Lieutenant remained in Washington about two weeks. Many old friends entertained him, and he was in a state of mind and body to set value on such a show of good will.

He recovered his strength rapidly, and when he went to Lincoln and told him he was ready to go to Richmond, Lincoln gave him the letter above quoted and a pass through the Federal lines, and then handed him his photograph, saying:

"You had better take that along. It is considered quite a curiosity down your way, I believe."

Lieut. Stephens went on to Richmond, reporting for duty, and though privileged to make a visit to his relatives in Georgia, and longing to see them, proceeded to West Virginia, where he served on the staff of General J. B. Gordon. Of course, he had been duly exchanged, the Federal officer who had been released going North, carrying with him memories of kindnesses and courtesy shown him in Richmond.—*Century*.

THE STORY OF THE IOWA PUBLIC ARCHIVES

Sixty-eight years ago out on the frontier, on the very border line of civilization, the manuscript materials of a wonderfully interesting series of books began to accumulate. In the little town of Burlington on the west bank of the Mississippi a modest church building had been made the capitol of a western Territory. Here sessions of the Legislative Assembly were held; here pioneer law-makers made up their daily journals of wise and unwise legislation, and listened to the messages and recommendations of a Governor whose mature counsels they too often failed to follow; and here the Chief Executive and the Secretary wrote and received letters, papers and documents from which the historian will some day obtain data for one of the most interesting chapters in the fascinating story of early Iowa.

In the frontier town of Burlington the annual Legislative Assemblies came and went with the seasons. Wm. B. Conway, Secretary of the Territory (and for a brief time Acting Governor), died. Governor Robert Lucas was removed from office. But in Old Zion Church the accumulation of manuscript letters, journals, reports and papers, went steadily on with never a pause.

In 1839 a new seat of government was located on the banks of the Iowa River in Johnson County; and the place was called Iowa City. Several years later, following the Governor, Secretary, Assembly and Supreme Court, the manuscript materials which had been collected at Burlington were carried to this new capital, Iowa City, and deposited in the Old Stone Capitol. In the haste, confusion, and carelessness of moving, some of the pages of the unpublished manuscripts were doubtless left behind; others were lost or destroyed. We know that not a few documents of priceless value were appropriated by individuals—public officers who were not always careful to distinguish between private records and public archives.

But the great work of recording and preserving the source materials of Iowa history went ceaselessly on. Courts, assemblies, constitutional conventions, as well as administrative officers, added new matter to the files of letters and papers. A new State was born in 1846; public business enlarged; and the body politic received more attention. The volume of "copy" doubled, trebled, and then doubled again, within the space of a few years.

In the winter of 1857 the precious accumulations of nearly twenty years were loaded upon bob-sleds and drawn by ox teams to the new capital, Des Moines. Again there was loss and destruction. Perhaps the letters of John Chambers were left in a confused heap on the floor of the Old Stone Capitol. Perhaps the papers of Ansel Briggs and Stephen Hempstead were thrown away or burned by the janitors. Perhaps the Executive Journals of John Chambers and James Clarke were used to kindle fires on the way to the Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines. Who knows? Fortunately, however, the manuscripts were not all lost. The letters

and records of the Lucas administration were safe at Plum Grove. Then, too, the letters and correspondence of Secretary Conway (alas for his reputation) survived the wrecks of moving. And the Executive Journal of the Governors from Briggs to Lowe have recently been discovered.

In 1857 a new constitution was adopted. The pioneer period soon came to a close. A great Commonwealth had been founded on the prairies. Administrative officers (the collaborators on the manuscript records) rapidly increased in number. During the half century that followed the administration of James W. Grimes, thousands upon thousands of papers and letters, literally tons of documentary material, have been added to the store of public archives. Hundreds of officers have added to the journals and filled up the records.

To-day the public records, the public archives of Iowa, are in a sense being "rescued" from the vaults in the capitol, where they have rested for several decades. They are being arranged and classified preliminary to their removal to the Hall of Public Archives in the new Historical, Memorial and Art Building. For the first time in the history of the State, the unpublished books of Iowa history are being made accessible to students and investigators. To be sure, there are many gaps in the files. No chapter of the manuscript is complete. The documents are often dim with age and torn through neglect and careless handling. But out of the crude, raw "copy" of the unpublished volumes of the public archives the historian will some day write the story of the origin of the Commonwealth.

Behold, the workers have appeared—the manuscripts are even now being classified—the "copy" is editing—and the first volume of a new series of documents has already issued from the press! Surely Iowa has been aroused to the effort of preserving and publishing the unpublished books of the Commonwealth's history! —*Mail and Times*.

DES MOINES, IOWA.



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF BRIG.-GEN. JOSEPH REED, PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(This is addressed to Colonel Archibald Lochry, and is an important and interesting historical letter, in regard to plans for the defense of the frontiers of Pennsylvania, determined on by the Supreme Executive Council acting, in concert with Congress and Washington. This was the beginning of Sullivan's historic expedition against the Indians.)

IN COUNCIL

PHILADELPHIA, March 27th, 1779.

SIR:

On the Eleventh Instant after several conferences with the Committee of Congress, on the defence of the frontiers, the House of Assembly resolved to commit the whole business to the Supreme Executive Council, who were to act in concert with the Congress and Genl. Washington on this important business. Upon this, as Conference by letters is very tedious and unsatisfactory the President proposed to go to the camp, and confer with the Commander-in-Chief in person, which he has accordingly done, very much to his, and our satisfaction. The General expressed his full Sense of the importance, necessity and duty, of taking most vigorous and speedy measures, for the Support and Protection of the frontiers. Such parts of the plan, as are not necessarily kept secret, in order to be more effectually executed we cheerfully communicate to you, and hope it will prove a most powerful encouragement, to our distressed and apprehensive friends to Stand their Ground. A very respectable force which has been stationed for some time at Schohary, in the State of New York under General Hand, is ordered over to the frontiers of Northampton and Northumberland and will as far as any stationary forces can do, afford ample protection to those two counties. It is also concluded to raise five companies of rangers, making three hundred and eighty men in the whole, to whom such Encouragement will be given as we hope will raise the men without difficulty. The Commander-in-Chief has also ordered Colo. Rawlins' Regiment, now at Frederick Town in Maryland guarding the British prisoners, to march to Fort Pitt and

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to be stationed at Kittanning or other suitable place to cover the frontiers of Westmoreland and Bedford. In the meantime, we have ordered detachments from the militia of York, Cumberland & Lancaster to march with all possible expedition for the immediate protection of Bedford and Westmoreland. It is also a very encouraging circumstance that Genl. Hand who is to command on the frontier of Northampton and Northumberland, and Colo. Broadhead at Fort Pitt, are both inhabitants of this State, and would have every inducement and motive to exert themselves to their utmost. But we are farther to acquaint you, that these are only parts of the System, for it is fully determined to penetrate into the Indian Country, and by a Seasonable vigorous Stroke, make them feel the weight of the American Arms. Measures are taking for this purpose, but you will see the evident propriety of silence on this subject, and we may venture to assure you that it has every appearance of being successful and decisive. We have now only to add that feeling as we do, most sincerely for your calamitous situation, no attention care or consideration shall be wanting to relieve it as soon as possible and that as far as we are enabled by the Assembly, in the necessary supplies, we shall do everything in our power for your comfort and protection. We have it under deliberation to offer a reward for Indian scalps; but it involves in it some considerations of a political nature, affecting the general system of the war with Great Britain. However, if it will answer an effectual purpose beneficial to you, we shall not hesitate to do it.

We would wish you to make the contents of this letter as generally known by sending copies or otherwise as you can, and use your utmost influence to prevail upon the inhabitants not to abandon their habitations when there is such a prospect of Support.

I am Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,
JOS. REED,
President.

Col. ARCHIBALD LOCHRY,
Lieut. of the County of Westmoreland.

LIEUT. COMMANDER GEORGE UPHAM MORRIS, U. S. N., TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

U. S. GUNBOAT *Port Royal*,
APALACHICOLA, FLA., March 20, 1863.

DEAR SIR:

I received to-day from a friend the July 1862 number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Please accept my heartfelt thanks for the flattering manner in which you mentioned my having performed my duty faithfully. As you almost predicted, the government has not promoted me tho' it did Worden, but you must remember he was successful and without loss, I unsuccessful and with a very heavy loss; but, Sir, even had I been honored by government and other authorities I assure you it could not have caused me more pleasure than I felt when reading your remarks concerning the fight between the *Merrimac* and the *Cumberland*—it was a proud & high honor to receive for having tried to sustain unspotted the honor of our Flag which my father had so well sustained before me.

[The Secretary of the Navy in his report for the year 1862 says of the above officer and his defense of the *Cumberland* against the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads:

“As her guns approached the water's edge her young Commander Lieut. Morris & the gallant crew stood firm at their posts, and delivered a parting fire & the good ship went down heroically with her colors flying.”]

UNFIT FOR SERVICE

Revolutionary Muster Roll. John Crane, Col. Mass. Artill'y. “A return of men's names, that have been presented as recruits for the Continental Army, but rejected as incapable of performing the duties of Soldiers. Boston, May 11, 1781.”

[Besides the names of the men and the cause of rejection, the towns from which they came are given. Here are a few of the causes of rejection,—“Too old, too small, and in every way unfit”; “Under 16 years of age and very small”; “Cripple, one leg shorter than the other”; “A perfect idiot (*sic*) and every way unsuitable”; “Old, and unable to dress himself”; “A cripple, and subject to fits”; “A deserter from the invalids.”]

(Evidently there was “graft” and bounty-jumping in 1776, as in our subsequent wars.)

Letter of Lieut. Commander E. K. Owen, U. S. N., to Captain

(afterwards Admiral) Pennock, Cairo, Ill. Dated aboard the *Louisville*, off Grand Gulf, Miss., August 17, 1863, and referring to three men sent from the *Clara Dolsen* to the *Louisville* who were entirely unfit for service.

[On the back Capt. Pennock has written: "Respectfully referred to Rear-Admiral D. D. Porter." Below this are nine lines in Porter's autograph, beginning: "*Before you receipt for any men rec'd in draft, have them undergo a very strict medical examination.*"]

LETTER OF GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH TO COLONEL THOMAS CRAFTS OF
THE ARTILLERY

[The Revere mentioned is Paul Revere and the Major Melvil Thomas Melville, one of the Boston Tea Party, grandfather of Herman Melville, and the last Bostonian to wear a cocked hat—hence known as the "Last of the Cocked Hats."]

Headquarters, Boston, July 27, 1778.

SIR: You will please immediately to pay attention to the state and condition of the apparatus of the Brass Four Pdrs and 8 Inch Iron Howitz belonging to the state and to every part of the Fixed ammunition and Tubes, Port Fires, &c., under your care that there may be no Detention on that account when they are called for. The same attention is to be paid to the Horse Harness.

The Detachment under orders are to take with them their Tents, Kettles and Canteens.

You will order Major Melvil to relieve Lt. Colo. Revere at the Castle.

I am, sir, your ob't. serv't.

W. HEATH, M. G.

(*Excerpt from*) LETTER OF WILLIAM EUSTIS, 1818

[Surgeon at Arnold's headquarters at the time of his treason, afterward Governor of Massachusetts, Secretary of War, and Minister to Holland. A terse characterization of General Wilkinson, which will not be quoted by future biographers.]

I return you with thanks the enclosed volumes. If the United States ever have had an officer, civil or military, more profligate and unprincipled than James Wilkinson, it has not fallen to my lot to know him.

LETTER OF DR. DAVID RAMSAY, THE HISTORIAN

TO REV. DR. JEDEDIAH MORSE (*father of Prof. S. F. B. Morse*)

[Dated Charleston, S. C., May 4, 1813, referring to a division between the North and South. Unfortunately the Doctor lived forty years too soon for his views to prevail.]

To write, to speak, or even to think of a separation of the States, is political blasphemy. All the evils complained of result from the necessity of the minority yielding to the majority and the imperfection of all things human. Admitting them all to be real, they should be submitted to until relief is obtained in a Constitutional way, as being less evils than disunion. "The United States, one and indivisible" is my motto. The doctrines of Hamilton in his *Publius* and Washington's Farewell Address to his country are my political creed.

(*Part of*) LETTER OF J. FENIMORE COOPER TO JOSEPH B.
BRYCE OF CINCINNATI

[A reminiscence of quill pen days.]

OTSEGO HALL, Cooperstown, N. Y., October 11, 1837

My writing table is generally so ill supplied with pens as to render my writing rather less creditable than otherwise. It will strike you as odd, but it is a fact that I can neither make nor mend a pen, a step in civilization I have never been able to attain. One of the consequences is that I often wrote very differently on the same page, of which I fear this letter will give you ample proof.

MARIA LOWELL (MRS. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL) TO MRS. NATHANIEL
HAWTHORNE, JUST AFTER MRS. LOWELL'S MARRIAGE.

Her letters are extremely rare.

PHILADELPHIA January 16th 1845.

MY DEAR SOPHIA

I wished to write you before I left home, but in the hurry of those last hours I had no time, and instead of delicate sentiments, could only send you gross plum cake, which I must hope however you received.

We are most delightfully situated here in every respect, surrounded with kind and sympathizing friends, yet allowed by them to be as quiet and retired as we choose, but it is always a pleasure to know you can have society if you wish for it, by walking a few steps beyond your own door.

We live in a little chamber in the third story back, quite low enough to be an attic so that we feel quite classic in our environment, and we have one of the sweetest & most motherly of Quaker women to anticipate all our wants and make us as comfortable outwardly as we are blest inwardly.

James's prospects are as good as an author's *ought* to be, and I begin to hear we shall not have the satisfaction of being so very poor after all. But we are in spite of this disappointment of our expectations the happiest of mortals or spirits, and cling to the skirts of every passing hour although we know the next will bring us still more joy. And how is the lovely Una, I heard before I left home that she was sunning Boston with her presence but I was not able to go in to enjoy her bounty. James desires his love to Mr. Hawthorne and yourself and sends a kiss to Una, for whom he conceived quite a passion when he saw her in Concord. I shall not ask you to write for I know how much time must be occupied but I will ask you to bear sometimes in your heart the memory of your most happy and affectionate

MARIA LOWELL.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ANTELOPES FOR THE DESERT

The southwestern deserts and the forest reserves of this region are to be stocked with antelope, to be brought from Africa. Private capital has already been secured for the purpose, and the project is already under way. It is intended to secure a species of antelope that thrive in the hot desert regions, and is able to live a long way from water. Antelopes were once numerous in southern California.—

San Francisco paper.

(This revives memories of the attempt to domesticate camels in Texas and Arizona, over forty years ago.

As antelopes are good to hunt and eat, the result may be different.—ED.)

BEAVERS IN EASTERN CONNECTICUT

For the first time in half a century beavers have made their appearance in this section of the State and have constructed one of their dams on the Silver Mine stream above Woods Pond, five miles north of Norwalk. Where the beavers came from after having been apparently exterminated for fifty years is a mystery. The dam is but a small one, but it is constructed according to the wonderful ingenuity of the clever little animals. Students of animal life from the high schools have gone to the

spot and studied the wonderful work and the houses of the family.

—*Danbury News.*

(The newspapers of Central Connecticut contain numerous instances of the remarkable increase in the wild deer, now that they are protected by law.)

TRANSLATION OF A POLITICAL SQUIB HANDED ABOUT AT PARIS, 1782

(Printed in a London newspaper July 1, 1782.)

THE FOURTEEN ALLS

France undertakes	<i>all</i>
Spain does nothing at	<i>all</i>
England fights	<i>all</i>
The Emperor takes part with	<i>all</i>
Russia balances	<i>all</i>
The King of Prussia deserts	<i>all</i>
Denmark bewares of	<i>all</i>
Sweden will have nothing at	<i>all</i>
Portugal differs from	<i>all</i>
Turkey wonders at	<i>all</i>
Holland will pay	<i>all</i>
The Pope is afraid of	<i>all</i>
If Heaven has not pity on	<i>all</i>
The Devil will take	<i>all</i>
Thus the French treat their allies.	

A. A. FOLSOM.

Brookline, Mass.

THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

CHAPTER XXIII (*Concluded*)

A GAIN!" at length said she, looking up tenderly, "Again! yet you thanked God I was going away."

"Cannot you comprehend the reason *now*, dearest Catalina? and will you now listen to what you refused to hear yesterday?"

She cast a shuddering glance at the pool, "I thought I heard a groan. Perhaps the poor creature yet lives, and may be saved."

"Let him perish!" said the youth, indignantly. "Oh, if you only knew the days and nights of anxious misery he has occasioned me!"

"And me, yet I pity him."

"And wish he were alive?"

"If I were sure—if I could be made quite sure neither of us could possibly ever see him again. Go, cousin, and see if he is yet alive, but take care!"

Sybrandt went and dragged the body from the pool. It was dreadfully mangled, and apparently lifeless. Catalina shuddered as she cast one look at it.

"Let us go home," said she.

"Will you not listen to my explanation now? You are going away from me to-morrow, and we may never meet again."

"No, dearest Sybrandt. I now see it all. You knew this wretched being had not left the country."

"I did; at least I suspected so from various circumstances."

"And you were every night on the watch, guarding me—*me*—who was accusing you of spending them in gaming, riot, and seduction—yes, seduction—for such was the story I heard. O, blessed Heaven! what short-sighted creatures we are!" And she raised her tearful eye to his, as if to ask forgiveness. "Was it not so?"

"I confess it was."

"But why did you not tell me you suspected the Indian was still lurking about the neighborhood?"

"What! and poison all your moments of returning ease and happiness! No: I thought I could guard you from the danger, without making you wretched by knowing it."

"And left me to endure suspicions a thousand times more painful."

"Recollect, dear Catalina, I could not anticipate your suspicions."

"True; and your apprehensions for my safety prompted that ungallant wish," said she, smiling languidly, "'Thank God, you are going.'"

"What else *could* have prompted it, dear love? And yet, much as I feared for you, I did not know half the danger." He then related to her the incidents of the preceding night. She turned deadly pale, and remained silent for a few moments.

"I recollect I stood at the window more than four or five minutes, wondering what was the matter with the dogs. Once—twice—thrice: it is a heavy debt, and how can I repay it?"

"By never doubting me again, till I deceive you."

"That can never be!" exclaimed she, fervently.

"And will you, can you love me, and trust me, dearest Catalina?"

"I can—I will," said she, solemnly; "and here, before the body of that dead wretch, who has expiated his intended crimes at your hands; in the presence of that good Being who has preserved me from his vengeance; by the life and all the hopes here and hereafter of the life you have three times, perhaps thrice three times, preserved, I promise to be yours, and to devote myself to your happiness whenever you shall ask it of me. I give myself to you by this kiss, such as no man ever before received from me, and no other ever will again. I give myself away forever!" And she kissed his forehead with her balmy lips.

"Blessed, forever blessed, be this day and this hour!" cried Sybrandt, as he folded her in his arms. "I cannot thank you, dearest, but I am blessed!" and he leaned his head on her shoulder, overpowered by the varying emotions and exertions of the past and present.

"You are hurt!" screamed Catalina.

"'Tis only happiness—I am faint with joy;" and again he leaned his head on her panting bosom. A dreadful shriek from Catalina roused him, and he saw the ghastly Indian close upon him, covered with blood, with his arm raised and grasping his knife. Before he could take a step to defend himself the blow was given. The knife entered his bosom, and he staggered backwards, but did not fall. In a moment Sybrandt rallied himself, and evading a second blow, closed with the now exhausted and dying wretch, whom he dashed to the ground with furious indignation. The agony of death came upon him, but did not quench his ruling passion of revenge. With convulsive agony he repeatedly buried his knife up to the hilt in the earth, and his last breath expired in a blow.

Poor Catalina, whose mind and body had sunk under the terrible vicissitudes of the day, during this momentary struggle sat wringing her hands, almost unconsciously repeated, "Once—twice—thrice—four times—and then his own! What a dear, dear purchase for a poor girl!"

Sybrandt went to her and said, "Fear nothing, dearest love, he is dead."

"What, Sybrandt! my preserver? Well, no matter. I shall be dead too, soon. The Indian will kill me now my dear preserver is gone."

"Revive, dear love; it is the Indian that is dead: he will never trouble you again."

"I cannot believe it," said she, recovering a little; "I saw the knife enter your bosom, yet you do not bleed. I am sure you must be wounded. Is there no blood?"

Sybrandt opened his bosom to assure her, and then, for the first time, comprehended the cause of his escaping unhurt. The point of the Indian's knife had left its print in the center of the ducat which Catalina had given him when he went on his trading voyage, and a piece of it remained sticking there.

"See Catalina," said he, "you have saved my life, and we are now even. Do you take back the gift you just now made me?"

"'Twas Heaven's own doing," she replied; then casting her eyes on the body of the Indian, she shuddered, "Is he dead; are you certain he is dead?"

"He is; come, and be sure of it."

"No, let us quit this miserable being, and, I was going to say, miserable place, though I shall love it as long as I live, and—and you love me," whispered she, soft as the zephyr among the leaves.

"That will be forever!" cried Sybrandt, and they bent their way towards the mansion-house.

CHAPTER XXIV

A SEPARATION INSTEAD OF A UNION

THE tale which Catalina had to tell, in explanation of her long absence, may easily be imagined. Thanks and blessings were poured out from the lips of the good parents. The old gentleman called the daughter and the nephew into his presence, and placing her hand in his, solemnly and

affectionately blessed them both as his dear children. "You have thrice saved her life, may she prove a blessing to yours."

"D——n it," said little Ariel—"d——n it, Sybrandt, who would have thought it! But come, I want you to go look at old Frelinghuysen's ox. He is grown as big as an elephant."

"It was not for nothing," thought the silent Dennis—"it was not for nothing he studied these old Greeks and Romans. I wish Dominie Stettinius were here to hear this:" and the worthy man felt proud of his adopted son.

And now it became necessary to settle the question whether the visit to New York should be paid or not paid. All things were prepared, the vessel ready, and the lady-cousin in the capital apprised of her invitation having been accepted. The colonel thought they had better send an apology, and get off as well as they could. Catalina—I confess it with the candor becoming my profession—Catalina fluttered between her love and her desire of novelty. What woman could ever yet resist the temptations of traveling and seeing the world? She, however, dutifully left it to her parents to decide. Madam Vancour was a woman, a very excellent woman—yet she was a woman. She did not exactly oppose the union of the two cousins, but still her heart was not in it. Ambition was too strong for gratitude. Like almost all the American women of that and indeed every succeeding age, she had imbibed, from her earliest years, a silly admiration of everything foreign; foreign horses, foreign dogs, foreign men, and, most especially, foreign officers. Everything provincial, as it was called, she considered as bearing the brand of inferiority in its forehead. She had, moreover, long cherished a latent ambition to see Catalina wedded to one of his majesty's little officials, who assumed vast consequence at that time—who tacked honourable to his name, and bore the arms of some one of the illustrious houses who figured in the court calendar, in the midst of griffins, sphinxes, lions, unicorns, vultures, and naked savages with clubs—fit emblems of the rude plunderers who first adopted these apt distinctions. The good lady, perhaps half-unconscious of her motives, almost hoped that Catalina would forget her rustic Corydon in the gay scenes and various sights of the metropolis, and conquer, and be conquered by, some brilliant aid-de-camp, perhaps a baronet, with bloody hand for his crest. Accordingly it was settled the visit should take place the next day, as was originally contemplated.

Sybrandt yielded with an aching heart and a bad grace to what he could not prevent. The busy fiends and phantoms that beset his earlier

days rose up to his imagination, and flapped their wings, and whispered gloomy anticipations. She would have gay admirers, for she was an heiress and a beauty. She would be distant from her parents, her home, her fireside, and from all those early associations with objects of nature, which serve as anchors by which the heart rides steadily in all the vicissitudes of wind and tide, and calm and tempest. "And then the cursed red-coats," whispered one malignant demon, with a diabolical grin; "if she resists them, and the fashion, and the example of every female, young and old, married and single, she must be more than woman." Such gloomy, irritating, peevish thoughts crowded on his heart the next day, as he accompanied Catalina to the vessel which was to bear her away; but his pride buried them with its own hands deep in his bosom.

"I shall return with the birds in the spring," said she, observing his dead silence. "You must be happy, but you must not forget me," and she placed her snowy hand in his. Sybrandt could scarcely feel it, 'twas so soft.

"Those who are left behind at home never forget," said the youth. "All that I see, and all that I hear, is the same to-day, to-morrow, and the next, and the next day. How then can I change?"

"You think, then, there is more danger that *I* should change," said Catalina, with a tender smile.

"Such miracles *have* come to pass," replied he, answering her smile with one of melancholy.

"Sybrandt," said she, with solemn emphasis, "see, the river out of which you dragged me when I was drowning is the same that rolls by the city whither I am now going. I shall see it every day from my window. The sun that shines there by day is the same that yesterday saw you rescue me from murder; and the same stars that witnessed your nightly watchings for my safety, stand in the firmament there as well as here. The same air, the same light, the same nature, and the same God, the same memory, the same heart, will be with me wherever I go. Be just to me, dear Sybrandt; I cannot, if I would, forget thee!"

The jealous demons fled before this bright emanation of truth and virtue, and Sybrandt became reassured. A silent pressure of hands conveyed their last farewell greetings, and in a few minutes Sybrandt was seen standing alone on a green projecting point of the river, watching the vessel as it glided swiftly out of sight. When it was no longer visible, he turned himself towards home, and the world seemed to him suddenly changed into emptiness and nothing.

JAMES K. PAULDING.

(*To be continued*)

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. V

APRIL, 1907

No. 4

CONTENTS

THE FRUITION OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787	
(<i>The late</i>) GENERAL WAGER SWAYNE	187
REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL GRANT (<i>Second Paper</i>) . . .	
GENERAL AUGUSTUS CHETLAIN	198
LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GEORGE AND JAMES CLINTON (<i>Fourth Paper</i>)	206
THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK (<i>Third Paper</i>)	
A. FRANKLIN ROSS	217
REMINISCENCES OF THE FREMONT CAMPAIGN	
REV. E. P. POWELL	223
MINOR TOPICS:	
Camels on the Plains	228
Relic of Cliff Dwellers	230
COMMUNICATIONS:	
The Puritans and the Indian Lands. {	
MR. S. S. RIDER	231
MR. J. C. ENO'S Reply	232
NOTES AND QUERIES:	
A Landmark Gone	235
Semmes of the <i>Alabama</i>	235
THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE—CHAPTER XXV	
JAMES K. PAULDING	236
BOOK NOTICES	245

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APRIL, 1907

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THE FRUITION OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

I ASK your attention to what seems to me the direct and impressive connection between the most conspicuous result of that war which has associated us, and the less familiar history of a movement which was set on foot by another company of associates, of another American army, at the close of the Revolutionary War.

The fruits of our war are gathered and preserved, so far as its direct effect upon our own Government is concerned, in three short paragraphs which are amendatory of the Federal Constitution. They were adopted soon after the Rebellion, and with direct intention to make its results secure.

There have been fifteen amendments to that instrument since it was adopted in 1789. The first ten were adopted as one, immediately after the original instrument, and under circumstances which made them really part of the original transaction. Another followed within ten years, and the next one five years later. Then there were sixty years without a change.

The three amendments which followed the War of the Rebellion are known as the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth—adopted in 1865, 1868, and 1869.

The first provides that “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.”

The second provides, that “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make

or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The third provides that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Each of them also provides that Congress may enforce its provisions "by appropriate legislation." Subsidiary sections of the Fourteenth Amendment are of incidental or transient operation—the three clauses: inhibiting slavery; making all persons born or naturalized in the United States its citizens and citizens of their respective States; and then assuring to the citizen the full enjoyment of all his rights and privileges—these are the substance of these three amendments to the Federal Constitution, and these three, when grouped together, are perceived to be one. That one is but the ripened growth of the primary enactment, which is itself an adaptation of the corresponding phrase in the famous Ordinance of 1787—"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

Originally applicable to but a limited area, it is now made to apply to the whole Union; it is amplified to include all the rights of citizens, and for its honor and security, its beneficiaries are endowed with the right to vote. THE CIVIL WAR WAS A PURCHASE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN: these three amendments are the title-deeds, and all their value rests upon this declaration—*There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime.*

It is a touching fact, when we recall how much it means, that only this should be the fruit of that great war. We personally remember how for four years it kept this country torn apart, and how it gathered and accumulated and intensified with death and desolation all those feelings of humanity that excite to severe judgment or support its execution. One of the parties came to be in a position to award and execute such judgment; the situation of the other left it nothing but submission. The years since have disclosed the scope of what was actually exacted. The historian will find no list of executions or imprisonments, no lasting confiscations or disfranchisements; no State impaired in full and equal sovereignty; noth-

ing, except three short amendments to the Constitution—all securing, even to the vanquished, equal rights.

Perhaps it is because of this, that since then this Nation has grown great in such a way as brightens the prospects of the world.

This precept against slavery stands, moreover, as the final guarantee of individual freedom in this country; and even beyond this, I feel that involved with its history are not only the origin of the late war and the final triumph of the right, but also, as to very many of us, our own direct and personal relation to the war.

I have not known until recently how far the officers and soldiers of the Revolution were the source and life and strength of that great ordinance, nor how their lives have by its means become involved with our own lives, nor how far that inscription is theirs which is not at once the basis of our liberties and the seal of our own military service.

I begin with the first official record. In a report made in March, 1792, by a Congressional Committee of the House of Representatives, to whom had been referred a petition from the "Ohio Company of Associates," the committee says, "we find said Ohio Company laid its foundation in an application to the United States in Congress assembled; a copy of which is herewith presented to the House."

The petition is dated June 16, 1783, and is signed by two hundred and eighty-five officers of the Continental Army; which was encamped at Newburgh, N. Y., waiting to be discharged whenever news should be received that the treaty of peace and independence had actually been signed. Of these signers seven were general officers—Dayton, Grea-ton, Huntington, Knox, Paterson, Putnam, and Stark; and all other ranks were represented. The list shows:

Massachusetts	155
Connecticut	46
New Hampshire.....	34
<hr/>	
Making from New England.....	235
New Jersey.....	36
Maryland	13
New York.....	1
<hr/>	
	285

The solitary New Yorker was Captain John Doughty of the artillery.

This petition seems to me to possess so much interest that I present it entire:

To His Excellency, the President, and Honorable Delegates of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

The petition of the subscribers, officers in the Continental Line of the army, humbly sheweth:

That by a resolution of the honorable Congress passed September 20, 1776, and other subsequent resolves, the officers (and soldiers engaged for the war) of the American Army, who shall continue in service till the establishment of peace (or in case of their dying in service, their heirs) are entitled to receive certain grants of land according to their several grades, to be procured for them at the expense of the United States.

That your petitioners are informed that the tract of country bounded north on Lake Erie, east on Pennsylvania, southeast and south on the River Ohio, west on a line beginning at that part of the Ohio which lies twenty-four miles west of the mouth of the River Scioto; thence running north on a meridian line till it intersects the River Miami (Maumee) which falls into Lake Erie; thence down the middle of that river into the lake is a tract of country not claimed as the property of or within the jurisdiction of any particular State in the Union. That this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality and situation, such as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a tract of territory suitable to form a district government (or colony of the United States), in time to be admitted as one of the Confederate States of America.

Wherefore your petitioners pray that whenever the honorable Congress shall be pleased to procure the aforesaid lands of the natives, they will make provision for the location and survey of the lands to which we are entitled within the aforesaid district; and also for all officers and soldiers who wish to take up their lands in that quarter.

That provision also be made for further grants of lands to such of the army as may wish to become adventurers in the new government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchase for public securities, as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the

intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequence to the American Empire.¹

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.
June 16, 1783.

We have here a body of officers of the Continental Army, while yet in camp, petitioning Congress "to assign and mark out a tract of territory suitable to form a district government (or colony of the United States), in time to be admitted one of the States, upon which the subscribers were to settle.

In other words, here is a movement originating with officers of the Continental Army, and resulting afterwards in their formal organization, which from the first contemplated the distinct and apparently exclusive settlement of a new State by officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary War. In the end, they seem to have accomplished more than this, and, as I have suggested, to have left their distinct impression on the war of Secession. Meantime, however, the earlier history of the petition is instructive and pathetic.

By the terms of confederation of the thirteen colonies, "all charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State. . . . The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States."

This method presupposed (and required) for its effective working, that the Continental Congress be cordially supported by the several Legislatures, and all its requisitions promptly met. As a matter of fact the Legislatures did neither. Washington wrote Greene in 1783, "I have written almost incessantly to all the States, urging, in the most forcible terms the absolute necessity of complying with the requisitions of Congress in furnishing their contingents of men and money; and am unhappy to say the success of these applications has not been equal to my expectations."

¹ Is not this the first use of "Empire" in connection with our country, save for Berkeley's familiar lines, "Westward the course of Empire takes its way"? Possibly the writer of the petition may have been familiar with Berkeley's writings. The date of the verses is said—by the "Dictionary of National Biography,"—to be uncertain—about 1725; but Berkeley died in 1753.—ED.

It may have been jealousy of Congress' centralized power, or that popular opinion did not, after its first impulse, fully support the resolution; but it is clear from the writings of Washington and others, that Congress' requisitions and the obligation which it had incurred, were the subject of indifference, if not of aversion, by the States. Thus Washington writes to Governor Harrison of Virginia: "How well the States are provided for a continuance of the war, let their acts and policy answer. The army, as usual, is without pay—and a great part of the soldiery without shirts—and though their patience is equally threadbare, the States seem perfectly indifferent to their cries."

Perhaps here is an explanation of the bare and bleeding feet that crossed the Delaware. To Hamilton, Washington says that to the defects of the articles of Confederation and "to want of power in Congress, may justly be ascribed the prolongation of the war, and consequently the expense of it. More than half the perplexities I have experienced, and almost all the distress of the army, have their origin there."

Nor did matters improve when peace put the object of war already in possession, and when the possibility of centralized control need no longer be endured as the alternative of foreign subjugation.

A review of the situation, caustic but probably just, is found in a letter from William Grayson of Virginia, one of the foremost members of Congress, to James Monroe, during one of its sessions in New York. "The delegates from the eastward are for a very strong government, and wish to prostrate all ye State Legislatures, and form a general government out of ye whole; but I don't learn that ye people are with them; on the contrary in Massachusetts they think that Government too strong, and are about rebelling again, for ye purpose of making it more democratical. In Connecticut they have rejected ye requisition for ye present year decidedly, and no man there would be elected to ye office of a constable, if he was to declare he meant to pay a copper towards ye domestic debt. Rhode Island has refused to send members; ye cry there is for a good government after they have paid their debts in depreciated paper; first demolish ye Philistines (*i. e.* their creditors) and then for propriety. N. Hampshire has not paid a shilling since peace, and does not mean to pay one to all eternity. If it was attempted to tax ye people for ye domestic debt, 500 Shays¹⁸ would arise in a fortnight. In N. York they pay well, because they can do it by plundering N. Jersey and Conn. Jersey will go great

¹⁸ Daniel Shays, the insurgent.

lengths from motives of revenge and interest. Pennsylvania will join, provided you let ye sessions of ye Executive of America be fixed in Philadelphia, and give her other advantages in trade to compensate for ye loss of State power. I shall make no observations on ye Southern States, but I think they will be (perhaps from different motives) as little disposed to part with efficient power as any in ye Union."

Under these circumstances and without pay, the army at Newburgh confronted the close of the war. The country was fairly prosperous; distress affected only its preservers. The army was not slow to see this. In January, 1783, a committee of officers presented themselves at Philadelphia and complained that "shadows have been offered us, while the substance has been gathered by others. Our situation compels us to search for the causes of our extreme poverty. . . . Our distresses are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear; our property is expended; our private resources are at an end; and our friends are wearied and disgusted with our incessant applications. . . . The army entreat that Congress, to convince the world that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of her citizens, will point out a mode for immediate redress."

The testimony of Quartermaster General (Timothy) Pickering, shows that their complaint was in no degree exaggerated. "To hear the complaints of the officers and see the miserable condition of the soldiery, is really affecting. It deeply penetrates my inmost soul to see men destitute of clothing, who have risked their lives like brave fellows, having large arrears of pay due them, and prodigiously pinched for provisions. . . . It is a melancholy scene. . . . Those brave and deserving soldiers, many of whom have for six years exposed their lives to save their country, who are unhappy enough to have fallen sick, have for a month past been destitute of every comfort of life. The only diet provided for them has been beef and bread, the latter generally *sour*."

Out of this situation grew the movement I am attempting to review. In March, 1783, news came that while the treaty of peace was not yet formally signed, it was definitely settled that the land westward to the Mississippi would be ceded to the United States. We have also seen by the petition, that soon after the Declaration of Independence, and by other subsequent resolutions, Congress had expressly pledged grants of land to the officers and soldiers "to be procured at the expense of the United States." The plan at once suggested itself to these expectant

grantees to secure from Congress that their grants might be located together in that part of the territory which would be nearest to their original homes, and then to settle on these lands in a body. To that end they would require for their new homes an established government. Hence, they determined also to ask leave to organize a State.

A little later Pickering writes: "*But a new plan is in contemplation—no less than the formation of a new State westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers are heartily engaged in it.*"

This project seems also to have contemplated that the constitutional provisions by which its government would be controlled, should be determined in advance by the associates from whom the project moved. We are again indebted to Pickering for a record of the "*proposition for settling a new State by such officers and soldiers of the Federal Army as shall associate for the purpose.*"

Aside from such of these propositions as are repeated in the petition, I can pause only to notice that one of them which provides that "a Constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associates present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose, agreeing therein. *The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.*"¹⁴

This has been well said to be the first known proposition among men

¹⁴ This was thirteen years before slavery was abolished in New York and twenty years before New Jersey made provision for its gradual extinction. Vermont had done so as early as 1777, other of the New England States in 1780, or soon after. The original responsibility for the presence of slavery in the remaining States is well illustrated by the history of Virginia in this respect, as summarized by Professor (John Barbee) Minor in his *Institutes of Common and Statute Law*. Commencing in 1699, the General Assembly, up to 1772, passed twenty-three enactments on that subject, each designed to exclude slaves or make their importation difficult.

The last one (1772) was supplemented by a strong petition to the King (George III.) not to permit "a trade of great inhumanity and dangerous to the very existence of His Majesty's American Dominion," in order that a few of his subjects "might reap emolument from this sort of traffic."

The King's response was cruel and outrageous. Under his own hand he commanded the Governor, "under pain of his highest displeasure, to assent to no law under which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or restricted." In the same year the English courts declared that a slave who set his foot on English soil was free—and a year later the Quakers in England begun the agitation which ended in the abolition of the slave trade.

This action of George III. is that "inhuman use of his prerogative," which is referred to in the Declaration of Independence.

to establish a government whose distinctive feature should be universal freedom. It came from those who for (the sake of) freedom had lost all, and we shall find their later history full of this proposition and its outcome, fuller, doubtless, than they themselves at all contemplated.

"In the eye of reason and of truth," says Bancroft, "a colony is a better offering than a victory. It is more fit to cherish the memory of those who founded a State on the basis of democratic liberty."

These men of whom I speak, first made their country offerings of victories, then founded States upon the basis of universal liberty, and afterwards, as it appears to me, controlled the fortune of that war in which we were engaged, and stamped their own inscription upon its result.

The project at once enlisted the warm sympathy of Washington. He wrote a long letter to Theodorick Bland, a Virginia member of Congress, and asked that Hamilton also be made acquainted with his views. Bland introduced an ordinance, seconded by Hamilton, essentially in accord with the views of the associates, except that the area was meant to include more than one embryo State. It was, moreover, conditioned upon the consent of Virginia to a change in the terms on which she had offered to surrender to the Nation her claims to all land between the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Lakes. This was referred to the "Grand Committee," and never afterwards heard from. Doubtless the intercourse between Congress and the army, which attended its introduction, gave the army to better understand the opposing interests that were involved.

The head of this movement from first to last, as we shall see, was General Rufus Putnam. The fact that the movement dates from the arrival in camp of news that the Northwest Territory would be ceded to the colonies, is taken from a memorandum of his own. Pickering writes: "The propositions for settlement are in the hands of General Rufus Putnam and General Huntington." It was Putnam who sent Washington the petition, with a long letter in its favor; we shall see him more and more prominent as the project becomes tangible, until its consummation, four years later.

Washington sent petition and letter to Congress, with a letter of his own, endorsing it as "the most rational and practical scheme which can be adopted by a great proportion of our officers and soldiers. Before the war he had advertised for sale, "upwards of twenty thousand acres of land on the Ohio and Great Kanawha," and urged their advantages for

settlement. Once at least during the Revolution, when asked, "If this [bad news] be true, and we are driven from the seaboard, what then is to be done?"—he replied, "We will retire to the valley of the Ohio, and there we will be free." The same thought is presented again in his Farewell Address, in which he said: "The extensive and fertile region of the West will yield a happy asylum to those who are fond of domestic enjoyment and are seeking for personal independence."

A little later, September 7, 1783, in a letter to James Duane, he proposed the first definite plan for the establishment of new States west of the Ohio, and also suggested a comprehensive Indian policy.

The officers' petition came at the wrong time. Within five days Congress was surrounded and put in peril by the mutinous Pennsylvania Line, and fled to Princeton. Until it came to New York it was always a migratory body, and often a fugitive from the necessities of war. It was often for long periods without a quorum.

The petition was also unfortunate in claiming that the tract referred to was not owed by or under jurisdiction of any State—for Virginia claimed all of it, and other States a part.

George Rogers Clark had taken the English forts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes—and in 1778 Virginia enacted that "all citizens of this State who are or shall be settled on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in a distinct county, called Illinois." The petition also recognized the necessity of treaties with the Indians before any attempt at occupation should be made. It was not until January, 1786, that the last of these difficulties was removed by a treaty with the Delawares, Shawnees and Wyandottes, ceding all title to the Northwest Territory.

Simultaneously with this treaty, General Putnam and Colonel Benjamin Tupper, also a signer of the petition, published in the Boston papers a call headed, "Information," addressed "to all officers and soldiers who have served in the late war, and who are to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio country, and also to all good citizens who wish to become Adventurers in that delightful region . . . to form an association by the name of "The Ohio Company."

Forty-seven signers of the petition joined the company as did several others. The plan was a purchase of lands in bulk, the purchase money to be subscribed in shares, subscriptions payable in "final certificates" (army back pay).

The delegates met March 8, 1786, at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, Putnam in the chair. Together with General Samuel Holden Parsons and Rev. Manasseh Cutler, he was appointed a committee to receive subscriptions payable in "public securities," to buy from Congress a quantity of land west of the Ohio.

A year was allowed for the work, and the association reconvened at Brackett's Tavern, Boston, March 8, 1787, and formally organized as the Ohio Company of Associates.

The *personnel* was such as to command attention—including besides Knox and Putnam, Samuel Adams, Hamilton, Gerry and many others, including the President of Harvard.

Putnam, Parsons, Gen. Varnum and Cutler were directors, Major Winthrop Sargent, secretary, and Parsons was to negotiate with Congress for the lands. He differed seriously and perhaps wisely from most of the association—preferring the valley of the Scioto, for its rich and level bottom lands. They preferred the valley of the Muskingum, for its several navigable streams and the long front on the Ohio which the bend in that river gave. This difference soon led to Parsons' being succeeded by Dr. Cutler, who had been an army chaplain, and at that time was preaching in the Congregational church at Ipswich, Mass. On his arrival in New York, he writes: "At eleven o'clock I was introduced to a number of the members on the floor of Congress' chamber in the City Hall,² by Colonel (Edward) Carrington, member for Virginia."

WAGER SWAYNE.

² On the site of the present Sub-Treasury, Wall and Nassau Streets.

(To be continued)

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(To be continued)

REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL GRANT

(Second Paper)

N EAR the close of the year, when General Grant was returning from a tour of inspection up the Ohio River, he stopped his steamer at Smithland and spent an evening at my quarters. When alluding to General Smith, he said, "It does not seem right for me to give General Smith orders as I must do to-morrow morning, for when I was a cadet at West Point he was its Commandant, and we all looked upon him as one of the ablest officers of his age in the service." General Grant was impressed with the conviction that a movement on Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, should be made at once, and General Smith agreed with him. He asked permission, which was granted, to proceed to St. Louis to lay the matter before General Halleck, who a short time previously had succeeded Fremont in the command of the Department of the Missouri. He was received with little cordiality, and before he had fully unfolded his plan was abruptly cut off, and the interview soon ended. He returned to Cairo a good deal crestfallen, and feeling that possibly he had committed a blunder. Some two months later, however, Halleck authorized him to carry out the idea he had suggested at their last meeting, viz., sending an expedition against Forts Henry and Donelson.

It may not be amiss here to say that nearly all the officers of the regular army in the volunteer service felt that injustice had been done to General Smith in placing him under General Grant. The former was an old soldier who had seen over thirty-five years of continuous service, and had held the rank of Colonel before the war. The latter had left the army soon after he had become a Captain, under circumstances believed to be not altogether creditable to him, and had been for several years before the war in civil life. The spirit of loyalty to one another that prevailed among the officers of the regular army caused them to feel that the position of these officers was incongruous, and that General Grant ought to be the subordinate, especially as it was generally believed that Grant's rapid advancement was due to political influence. It was known

to them, too, that General Grant had expressed the opinion that in the volunteer service the distinction then existing by law between the West Point regular and the volunteer officer of the same rank should be abolished. This opinion was regarded by the regular as very singular, and, under the circumstances, as a bid for popularity in the volunteer service. General Grant was little known to the officers of the regular army, while General Smith by his long and distinguished services was not only well known, but very highly esteemed.

The expedition up the Tennessee River started the earlier part of February, and was commanded by General Grant, with General Smith as second in command. On the sixth, Fort Henry was captured, and on the sixteenth, Fort Donelson after a short siege and bloody battle capitulated. The last named was the first decisive and important victory won by Union forces in the West, and it sent a thrill of joy throughout the North. General Grant was regarded by the loyal people of the country as a hero, and his praises were sounded by all. As soon as General Halleck learned of the surrender of Fort Donelson he telegraphed to General McClellan to make General Smith a Major-General, for he said, "He, by his coolness and bravery when the battle was against us, turned the tide and carried the enemy's outworks. Honor him for this victory, and the whole country will applaud." His request was not granted, but both Grant and Smith were promoted to the rank of Major-General, the former still as the senior. General Smith was entirely ignorant of any effort made to place him over General Grant, for whom, I know, he had genuine esteem, and in whom he had the utmost confidence. He seemed to take pride in the success and advancement of his old pupil at West Point, who was noted in his class, as he once remarked, for his modesty, superior horsemanship, and proficiency in mathematics.

A short time after the surrender of Fort Donelson, General McClellan at the suggestion of Halleck placed General Grant in arrest, ostensibly for leaving his command and proceeding to Nashville beyond the limits of his district, to consult with General Buell, whose army was believed to be in a critical situation; for gross neglect of duty in failing to furnish the department commander daily reports giving the strength and position of his command, and for irregularity in his habits. General Halleck's conduct in this matter showed how persistent and unscrupulous he was in his determination to raise Smith above Grant. Satisfactory explanations were soon after made by General Grant, and a few weeks later

he was relieved from arrest, and assumed the command of his old army. About the middle of March he was at Savannah on the Tennessee River, organizing into brigades and divisions the new troops assigned to him, with General Smith in command of the camp at Pittsburg Landing, eight miles above Savannah, on the west bank of the river. This concentration of troops at Pittsburg Landing was preparatory to a movement on Corinth, a point of great strategic importance at the junction of the Memphis and Charleston and the Mobile and Ohio railroads, where General Albert Sidney Johnston had massed a large force of Confederates.

On the sixth and seventh of April, 1862, was fought near Pittsburg Landing the hotly contested and sanguinary battle of Shiloh. Of this battle General Grant afterwards said, "It was the most severe battle fought in the West, and but few in the East equalled it for hard and determined fighting."

Persistent efforts have been made to show that Grant would have suffered defeat but for the timely arrival of Buell's army. In a number of the *Century*, published a few years ago, is a long and carefully prepared paper from the pen of General Buell, who commanded the Army of the Ohio, in which he attempts to prove that to *his* army was due the defeat of the Confederates. The paper is a tissue of "special pleading," and would not, I am sure, have been published had General Grant been living. The contending forces in this battle were nearly equal in number, the Confederates having a few thousands the most, but the Union army had been depleted in the early morning of the sixth by the demoralization of five to six thousand men, mostly fresh troops, who left the front and fled to the river, and by the defection of General Lew Wallace's division of over 6,000 men, which, on account of General Wallace's failure to correctly understand orders, did not reach the battlefield until evening, and after the first day's fighting was over.

At about half-past-four o'clock of the sixth, having been driven back with my regiment from the extreme left, after six hours of hard fighting, I met General Grant near the Landing and just after he had made his last visit to the front. After a few commonplace remarks, he said: "Colonel, you had better take your regiment to its old quarters for the night. The enemy has done all he can do to-day, and to-morrow morning with the fresh troops we shall have, we will finish him up." He was calm and confident, and seemed by intuition to know the condition of the Confederate forces. By two o'clock of the next day the enemy had been

driven from the field, and was retreating hurriedly and greatly demoralized towards Corinth. Grant would have made a vigorous pursuit had not orders been received from General Halleck not to pursue. Why this order was given, was always an enigma to General Grant. I have always been of the opinion that, had Buell not reached Pittsburg Landing the evening of the sixth with a portion of his army, General Grant would nevertheless, with the aid of Wallace's division of veterans and the return to the ranks of the greater part of the men who had fled panic-stricken to the rear, have won a victory before the close of the second day. The fact is, the Confederates were virtually defeated when General Albert Sidney Johnston fell mortally wounded at 2:30 o'clock of the first day, while leading a brigade in a desperate charge. Had General Smith been on the ground prior to the battle and able to participate in it, I have no doubt the partial surprise of the early morning of the sixth would have been avoided, and a decisive victory gained by four o'clock of the first day. This gallant officer had been sick in hospital at Savannah for over a week before the battle, and died fifteen days later. His death was a severe and almost irreparable loss to the army of the Tennessee.

Soon after the battle of Shiloh, General Halleck appeared on the field and assumed the command of all the troops, with General Grant as second in command. He at once began a movement on Corinth, twenty miles distant from Pittsburg Landing, where the Confederates under General Beauregard were strongly entrenched. By the tenth day of May, having been reinforced by General Pope's army of 30,000 men, he had under him an army of 120,000 men, nearly all veterans. It was as splendid an army as was ever seen on this continent, and commanded by such able and experienced officers as Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Pope, Logan, Buell and Rosecrans. His advance on Corinth was slow and unnecessarily cautious. The army entrenched itself after every advance, and by the 25th of May was still a mile from the enemy's outer works, and over two miles from the town. General Grant was ostensibly in command of the right wing and reserve, but in fact only of the reserve, composed of the divisions under Generals Lew Wallace and McClelland. General Thomas commanded the right wing, Buell the center, and Pope the left. General Halleck, apparently to show his contempt for Grant, during the advance on and siege of Corinth ignored him entirely, and sent all his orders directly to the division commanders of the reserve, a proceeding at once unusual and unmilitary. General Grant during all these operations was as useless as the fifth wheel to a coach. He felt the

indignity keenly, but bore it uncomplainingly, except twice when out of sheer desperation he asked to be relieved of his command; but no notice was taken of his request. Some ten days before the evacuation of Corinth he modestly suggested to Halleck that were a feint in force made by the left and center, he believed the right could easily charge over the enemy's works. He thought he had information that justified such a movement. General Halleck received the suggestion coldly and treated it as being entirely impracticable. It soon became evident, however, that had the suggestion been acted upon, success would have been the result, Corinth captured, and a substantial victory won. On the last day of May, Corinth was evacuated by the Confederates, and when Halleck's grand army entered the place nothing was found there but a few Quaker guns, a lot of burning army beans, and a few score of sick and disabled soldiers in a hotel used as a hospital. The victory was indeed a barren one.

After the occupancy of Corinth, it was General Grant's idea, a sufficient force having been left to garrison Corinth and Memphis and protect our railroad communications, to move this great army directly to Vicksburg and capture it. Had this been done, Vicksburg would undoubtedly have been taken and held, and the Mississippi River opened from Memphis to New Orleans one year sooner than it was, and the war probably have ended in 1864 instead of 1865.

General Halleck, however, divided his army by sending over one-half of it to Middle Tennessee, leaving only about 50,000 men under Grant to garrison Corinth and Memphis and to guard nearly 200 miles of railroad. He soon after left for Washington to supersede McClellan as General-in-Chief of all the armies. His operations in the field at the head of an army did not add to his military reputation, for it was the general opinion of military men that in that capacity he was a failure. During the early summer of 1862 the opposition to General Grant to which I have referred, increased and spread among the officers of the volunteer service, and was taken up by leading politicians in the Northwest. General Grant was aware of this, and again asked to be relieved and assigned to some other command. I am credibly informed that President Lincoln was strongly urged from many quarters to remove him, and that not unfrequently scores of letters and petitions would be received in a single day, asking for his removal. Finally his request to be relieved was granted. While he was in the act of "packing up" his headquarters General Sherman called on him, and learning of his decision, expostulated

with him so earnestly on the unwisdom of the move that he changed his mind and decided to remain a while longer. President Lincoln more than once informed his friend and adviser, E. B. Washburne, that he would have to remove General Grant and assign him to a command in some other department. Mr. Washburne, who had always stood firmly by General Grant, interceded for him by alluding to his past services, saying, "a commander who had successfully led our army at Forts Henry and Donelson and at Shiloh ought to be retained in command in spite of the opposition."

Sometime in the earlier part of the summer President Lincoln, meeting Mr. Washburne in Washington, said to him, "Mr. Washburne, Grant will have to go. I can't stand it any longer. I am annoyed to death by the demands for his removal." Mr. Washburne replied, "Mr. President, this must not be done. Grant has proved an able and successful commander, and has won more important battles in the West than any other officer. His removal would be an act of injustice to a deserving officer." Finally the President said, "Well, Washburne, if you insist upon it, I will retain him, but it is particularly hard on me."

In the month of November an expedition against Vicksburg was determined upon, and General Grant was assigned to its command. All know the disastrous result of the movement down the Mississippi Central Railroad to Jackson, the return of the army to Memphis and the movement down the Mississippi River by steamers to Young's Point and Milliken's Bend, opposite Vicksburg. The siege of Vicksburg fairly began in January, 1863, and for some months after the progress of the army operations were slow and unsatisfactory owing to causes beyond the control of the commanding General. The winter passed away, spring came and went, and early summer found this stronghold still intact. The country was getting impatient. The army was being rapidly decimated by sickness, and General Grant's management was severely criticised in high places. Finally, it was decided at Washington to remove him from the command of the besieging army. The order relieving him was intrusted to Mr. Dana, the Assistant Secretary of War, to be delivered to General Grant in person at a stated time, should Vicksburg not have capitulated or been captured. Mr. Dana reached Vicksburg about the 1st of July, when, seeing that the operations of the army in the work of reducing the place were well advanced, with good prospect of success, he wisely decided to await the result.

On the morning of the 4th of July, 1863, Vicksburg surrendered to

the Union army. This great victory was hailed with joy throughout the North. General Grant became the hero of the war. Congratulations poured in upon him from all quarters. All opposition to him was withdrawn. Even General Halleck sent him congratulations, and ever after treated him with "distinguished consideration." He was master of the situation. His successful and brilliant career from Vicksburg to Appomattox is a matter of history known to all. It was grand and glorious throughout, and the world has so pronounced it. His splendid achievements marked him as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, military genius of the century.

I close this narrative by calling your attention to two contrasted scenes:

On the 25th day of April, 1861, a company of raw volunteer soldiers left the small commercial town of Galena, Ill., for the capital of the State, to join some regiment organizing there under the President's first call for volunteers. The excitement in the town and surrounding country was intense. Thousands gathered to witness its departure. It marched through the narrow streets lined with crowds of people, led by bands of music, civic societies and fire companies. In the middle of the street at the left and rear of the company was seen a small, modest, plainly dressed man, of thoughtful mien, carrying in his hand a small carpet bag, going with this company to the railroad station, on his way to the State capital. He seemed oblivious to all that was passing around him, and was apparently the least of all that vast throng. . . . Four years and one month later a sight was witnessed at the National capital, the grandest and most imposing ever seen on this continent. Nearly 200,000 veteran soldiers were marshaled there, the remnants of the grand armies of the Tennessee, of the Cumberland and of the Potomac, to pass in final review. The war was ended, and these veterans were soon to return to their homes and loved ones in all the states of the great North. These invincible armies, now merged into one, had marched and fought under such able and intrepid leaders as Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Meade, Logan, Hooker, Burnside, and a score of others. Weary and worn with marching, bronzed by exposure, bearing aloft flags tattered and bullet riddled, poorly shod, and with uniforms ragged and begrimed, they composed as proud an army of liberty-loving men as was ever seen. Victorious on a hundred battlefields, conscious of duty well and faithfully done, all were exultant and happy.

The silent, unostentatious soldier in the uniform of Lieutenant-General, the successful commander of over a million men, who stood on the reviewing stand by the side of the nation's Chief Magistrate, unmoved by the magnificent pageant as army after army passed in review amid the shouts of the assembled populace, was none other than the obscure and modest man in citizen's dress who, only a little over four years before, followed a company of recruits to the railway station on his way to the capital of the State, humbly seeking some position where he could make himself useful to the country he loved so well. The history of the world shows no parallel in the career of any other man.

AUGUSTUS L. CHETLAIN.

Bvt. Major-Gen. U. S. Vols.

ROGERS PARK, ILL.



LETTERS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GEORGE
AND JAMES CLINTON.

(*Fourth Paper*)

XXV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 4, 1781

Three page folio. The importance of Fort Schuyler in connection with the defense of the frontier was keenly appreciated by Washington, and in this unpublished letter from New Windsor we find him going to the extreme of suggesting resorting to "military coercion," if necessary, in order to obtain food for the garrison of this fort. The letter being franked, has two signatures of Washington.

"Instantly on the receipt of your letter of the 16th ult. (which came to hand in two days from the date) I dispatched a copy of it to Congress; enforcing thereby the pointed representations, and earnest solicitations, I was making at that moment, respecting the supplies of the Army; how far Congress will be able to devise ways & means for immediate relief, or induce the States to comply with their former requisitions, I cannot determine—but in the mean time every possible exertion should be used, to obtain bread from this State, and meat from the Countries of Massachusetts most contiguous to you—and where persuasion, entreaty, & requisition fail of success, Military coercion must be made use of.

Rather than the Garrison of Fort Schuyler should fall; and the Frontier be again desolate and laid waste, I am persuaded the State will make a great effort to afford a supply of flour for the Troops in that quarter.—And I confess I see no other alternative, under our present circumstances," etc.

Entirely unpublished. The body of this letter is in the autograph of Col. David Humphreys, as are several of the other letters in this collection.

XXVI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, MAY 7, 1781

Three page folio. This letter, which after three days followed the preceding letter, shows to what extremity Fort Schuyler had come. In it

Washington gives Clinton such encouragement as is possible. The nobility of his words to the hard-pressed commander are characteristic of the hero of Valley Forge. We give here merely the concluding paragraph :

"I should therefore advise, that the Garrison of Fort Schuyler should hold out to the last extremity, and I have no doubt of your still continuing, to use your unremitting exertions, thro' every possible difficulty, and embarrassment, to succor that Garrison, and to avert the disasters and calamities we have but too much reason to apprehend, from the present Temper of the Troops & complexion of our affairs in that quarter. Under these circumstances, should the worst evils take place, that may be dreaded, you will have the pleasing consciousness of having faithfully performed your duty to the public, and may rely upon the entire approbation and esteem of

Dear Sir

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

Geo. Washington."

Entire unpublished. Compare Washington's letter of same date to Governor Clinton ("Clinton Papers," vol. vi, p. 848), in which Washington refers to this very letter to James Clinton.

XXVII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 5, 1781

Three page quarto. This letter of instructions from New Windsor regarding the defense of New York State is printed in full in Sparks, vol. viii, p. 67.

"New Windsor, 5 June, 1781.

Dear Sir, In my letter of the 28th ultimo, I informed you of the succours you might expect, if necessary. The six companies of Van Schaick's regiment have since sailed, Hazen's will follow tomorrow. I have now to communicate my sentiments in general, respecting the disposition and application of this force.

It is clearly my opinion, that the reinforcements lately ordered to the northward should be kept together as much as circumstances will admit, or at least so near as to be speedily assembled upon an emergency; as it is not certain or probable, that they will be continued permanently in that quarter, and as they are designed while there to strike the enemy, should they be so presumptuous as to attempt to penetrate into the Country. It also appears to me that the force on the Hudson & Mohawk Rivers ought not to be so widely scattered as formerly, but stationed in as compact a manner as may be, except such light parties as occasion may require to be

kept out. By distributing the Troops, with a view of protecting every inch of ground, the efficient force is dissipated and lost, and the several posts are so weakened as to invite the enemy to enterprise. I wish you therefore to concentrate your strength as much as possible at the points you may judge most expedient, to form a plan of defence for the frontier, and to transmit to me the result of your determination."

In another letter, dated the 16th of June, the above orders were in part countermanded, so far as to direct General Clinton to keep these forces more compact than the first orders might imply, since it was to act with the main army in the expected operations against New York.

XXVIII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 10, 1781

Three page folio. At this period the most important fighting was going on under General Greene in the South, but it was of much consequence to prevent the enemy from gaining control of the northern frontier, and thus getting in a position to sweep New York State. The following letter, from Headquarters at New Windsor, being franked, has two signatures of Washington.

"Dear Sir, In consequence of repeated intelligence from the Northward, that the enemy were assembled in force, to make an incursion on our frontier, I ordered Col. Hazen's regiment and the six companies of Col. Van-Schaick's to Albany; since which I am informed that the number of the enemy was inconsiderable, and that those Troops, are supposed to have been drawn together near the frontier for the purpose of enabling their Recruits from among us, to join them, with more safety and facility, than they could have done without such a protection.—If this is the fact—it is to be regretted the Reinforcements was sent, at a time when every man was exceedingly wanted here, and when the absence of such a corps, will be a great impediment to our preparations, and may be a considerable obstacle to the success of the operations in contemplation.—The Troops may however remain until further orders; but I would have them, (agreeably to my Letter of the 5th inst.) keep so near together and in such constant readiness for a movement that they may be withdrawn at a moment's notice.

I hope before this time, the distresses of your Troops for provision are relieved.—The salted meat at Springfield is ordered on, (if you are still in want) possibly it may be expedient to take some measures with the Quarter Master, at that place, to avail yourself of this supply. Mr. Phelps will also furnish a proportion of the beef cattle procured in that State.—At the same time let me recommend to you, in the most earnest manner, that the greatest economy should be practised in the distri-

bution and consumption of provision; especially that you would attend minutely to the issues of it, and have such effectual checks established, as to prevent a single Ration from being issued to any person whatever, who is not properly entitled to it—A similar regulation for the Army is under consideration, and will be immediately adopted.”

Entirely unpublished.

XXIX

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JUNE 30, 1781

Two page folio. This letter from Peekskill is of much interest. In a letter of the same date to Governor Clinton, Washington refers to the orders given in this very letter. To Governor Clinton, Washington writes in confidence of his attempt to surprise the British posts on the north end of York Island: “I have, upon a hope that we shall succeed, ordered Brig. Gen’l. Clinton to send down the regular troops immediately” (Sparks, vol. viii, p. 89). Washington had great faith in Governor Clinton and admitted him into his confidence in connection with several important secret plans of this nature.

“On the receipt of this you will instantly put the three Reg’s. of Continental Troops under your Command, in motion for West Point. You will be pleased to have a sufficient number of vessels for transports immediately procured by hire or impress; and forward the Troops by Regiments or Detachments of Regt’s. as soon as possible.

It will be necessary for you to remain a little time, to make arrangements respecting the Levies and Militia who are to supply the place of the regular Troops, and to give General Stark, upon his arrival at Saratoga (where he will establish his Head Quarters) every information which will be necessary for the advantage and safety of his future command.”

Entirely unpublished.

XXX

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JULY 9, 1781

Two page quarto. The most interesting paragraph in this very interesting war letter from Dobbs Ferry has to do with Vermont. On account of the unfair way in which it had been treated in connection with the land controversy with New York State, Vermont had declared its independence in January, 1777; but New York succeeded in getting Congress to disclaim the intention of recognizing Vermont as a separate State. It will be noted that in this letter Washington speaks of "the *people* of Vermont," not the *State*. Only a few weeks later (August, 1781), Vermont sought admission as a State in the Union. New York gave up its opposition, but the Southern States maintained that the admission of Vermont (whose laws forbade slavery) would destroy "the balance of power" between the two sections of the confederacy, and Vermont had to wait till a Southern State could simultaneously be brought into the Union.

The following is only a short part of Washington's letter:

"I can give no countenance to any Cartel which may have been settled between the people of Vermont and the Governor of Canada, and so I lately informed Mr. Chittenden by an officer sent down by him to me. I wish there may not be other business transacted, under the cover of Flags from Vermont to Canada, besides the exchange of prisoners," etc.

Entirely unpublished.

XXXI

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, JULY 24, 1781

Three page quarto. It will be remembered that General Clinton was at this time in command of Albany. This letter from Dobbs Ferry is full of instructions, the most interesting of which was the order to withdraw the Continental soldiers, and leave the defense of the frontier between New York State and Canada to the militia.

"Sir, I have received your letter of the 10th. I am very sorry to hear the disturbance which took place in the 1st Reg't. especially as the Reg't. had just sent

on a sum of money for the pay of your Brigade—unluckily it seems to have missed them. On receipt of their money, this murmur I hope will be quieted.

So long as the 2d Regiment remains in Albany, I approve your keep'g up Gen. Schuyler's Guard to the number you mention—The Militia will soon arrive; the guard will then be furnished for them, and the Continental Soldiers must be withdrawn. Whenever you come down with the 2d Regt. you will collect every man of the old Reg't that you possibly can (except the Comp A of Artillery) & bring down with you—The Frontier must be left to the defence of the Militia.

You will continue to hold everything in the most perfect readiness to move down with the remainder of the Troops, on the shortest notice—Whenever the Militia begins to arrive you will give me immediate information.

The Fort at Herkemers, for want of workmen, not being like to be completed, and but a small comparative force perhaps to be left in that neighborhood, the heavy cannon and stores there may be insecure. I have therefore thort best they should be removed to Albany, reserving only such kinds and quantity as may be absolutely needed for the defence of the posts in that quarter.—as you will probably be removed from Albany before the stores can be sent down, I have written to Col. Willet on the subject and put the matter under his direction. . . .

P. S. On removal of so large a quantity of stores and cannon as will probably be sent down to Albany, Capt. Moody's whole Company of Artillery will not be wanted on the frontier. You will therefore order such number as you shall find necessary to continue—and the remainder you will direct to join the Army below."

Entirely unpublished.

XXXII

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, AUGUST 16, 1781

One page folio. Investigation shows this letter from Dobbs Ferry to be of peculiar interest. In a letter of the same date to General Schuyler (Sparks, vol. viii, p. 129), Washington congratulates Schuyler on having escaped capture from four men who had the boldness to attempt to seize him in his own house. Schuyler's clever ruse by which he frightened the men away is recounted in a footnote in Sparks (p. 129). Washington's letter to Schuyler refers to his instructions (in the present letter to Clinton) to leave a small guard of men to protect Schuyler from any such further attempts.

"I have been duly favored with your letter of the 19th inst. announcing the arrival of General Stark to take Command in the Northern Department and inform-

ing that the State Levies were coming in, and the Militia from the eastward hourly expected.

You will be pleased therefore on the receipt of this to embark the remaining Companies of Col. Cortland's regiment, and proceed immediately with them to King's Ferry where you may expect to receive further orders. . . . P. S. You will be particularly careful not to leave any men behind except a non-commissioned officer and a small guard of your weakest men with Gen'l. Schuyler."

Entirely unpublished.

XXXIII

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JANUARY 22, 1782

Five page folio. This important "circular letter" to the Governors of the thirteen States shows how great were the many difficulties which confronted Washington, even after the victory of Yorktown. The war did not end till 1783, and these two years were years of financial worry. The postscript of this letter is unpublished.

"Circular

Philadelphia, 22 January, 1782.

Sir, Although it may be somewhat out of my province to address your Excellency on a subject not immediately of a military nature, yet I consider it so nearly connected with, and so essential to, the operations under my direction, that I flatter myself my interference will not be deemed impertinent. Upon applying to the Superintendent of finance to know how far I might depend upon him for the pay, feeding, and clothing of the army for the current year, and for the sums necessary to put it and keep it in motion, he very candidly laid open to me the state of our moneyed affairs, and convinced me, that although the assistance we had derived from abroad was considerable, yet it would be by no means adequate to our expenses. He informed me further, that, to make up the deficiency, the States had been called upon by Congress for eight millions of dollars for the service of the year 1782, and showed me the copy of a circular letter from himself to the several legislatures, in which he had so fully and clearly pointed out the necessity of a compliance with the requisition, that it is needless for me to say more on that head, than that I entirely concur with him in opinion, so far as he has gone into the matter. But there are other reasons, which could not be so well known to him as they are to me, as having come under my immediate observation, and which, therefore, I shall take the liberty to mention. Your Excellency cannot but remember the ferment, into which the whole army was thrown twelve months ago for the want of pay and a regular supply of clothing and provisions; and with how much difficulty they were brought into temper,

by the partial supply of the two first, and a promise of more regular supplies of all in future. Those promises the soldiery now begin to claim; and, although we shall be able to satisfy them tolerably in respect to clothing, and perfectly in regard to provisions, if the financier is enabled to comply with his contracts, yet there is no prospect of obtaining pay, until a part of the money required of the States can be brought into the public treasury. You cannot conceive the uneasiness, which arises from the total want of so essential an article as money, and the real difficulties in which the officers in particular are involved on that account. The favorable aspect of our affairs, and the hopes that matters are in train to afford them relief, contribute to keep them quiet; but I cannot answer for the effects of a disappointment. Enabling the financier to comply with his contracts is a matter of the utmost consequence; the very existence of the army depends upon it. Should he fail in his payments, the contract ceases, and there is no alternative left, but to disband or live upon the seizure of the neighbouring property. The saving to the public, by feeding an army by contract, is too well known to need any illustration, and that alone ought to be a sufficient inducement to the States to find the means of adhering to it. It will perhaps be urged, that the sum called for is immense, and beyond the ability of country to pay. There is one plain answer to that objection, should it be made. It is, that, if the war is carried on, a certain expense must be incurred, and that such expense must be drawn from the people, either by a partial cruel, and I may say illegal seizure of the property, which lies most convenient to the army, or by a regular and equitable tax in money or specific articles. Money, if it can be procured, is to be preferred, because it is neither liable to waste, nor is it expensive in the mode of collection or transportation. Whereas I think I may venture to say, that a great proportion of the specific articles has been wasted after the people have furnished them, and that the transportation alone of what have reached the army has in numberless instances cost more than the value of the articles themselves.

To bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion must be the fervent wish of every lover of his country; and sure I am that no means are so likely to effect these as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether, then, we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find, that relaxation and languor are of all things to be avoided. Conduct of that kind on our part will produce fresh hopes and new exertions on that of the enemy; whereby the war, which has already held out beyond the general expectation, may be protracted to such a length, that the people, groaning under the burthen of it, and despairing of success, may think any change a change for the better. I will close with a request that your Excellency will be good enough to take the first opportunity of laying these sentiments before the legislature of your State.

From the attention, which they have ever been pleased to pay to any former requisitions or representations of mine, I am encouraged to hope, that the present, which is equally important with any I have ever made, will meet with a favorable reception.

P. S. The return of troops called for by Resolve of the 10th of December,

is collecting and will be forwarded very soon. The remote situation of some of the Corps has made it a tedious business, but such is the nature of it that an accurate return cannot be digested untill the return of all the Legionary Corps and those of artillery are obtained that credit may be given for the men serving in them."

XXXIV

WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CLINTON, DECEMBER 14, 1782

One page folio. Even after the critical period of the war was passed, and the victory of the American cause practically achieved, Washington was as careful of details as in the most doubtful years of the conflict. This is evidenced in the following letter from Headquarters in Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir. Your favor of the 6th reached me yesterday. I am sorry that you find the old Hutts of the Jersey Line destroyed, but as that mode of cantonment seems to be absolutely necessary not only for safety but for the preservation of discipline, I must leave it to you to fix upon the nearest piece of ground suitable for the purpose, with only this general direction, that it be as near as possible to the entrance of the Ringwood Clove—should the distance from the entrance be such as to require it, you may build a guard house for a subaltern's Command at some convenient place in the gorge of the mountains to intercept straglers and suspicious persons. You will make yourself acquainted with the country leading towards the enemy and take such precautions for your security as may be necessary."

Entirely unpublished.

XXXV

WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR CLINTON, JUNE 21, 1783

(This is the most important Washington letter in existence.)

Fifteen page folio. This voluminous "circular letter" was addressed to the Governors of all the States. It was written by Washington on disbanding the troops on his retirement from the command of the army. Known as the "Address from Newburgh," it ranks next in importance of all Washington's writings to his farewell address on retiring from the presidency. This copy, sent to the first Governor of what has become the greatest State of the Union, is of special interest. A few excerpts follow:

“(Circular.)

“Head Quarters, Newburgh, June 21, 1783.

Sir, The great object for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my Country being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and to return to that domestic retirement, which it is well known I left with the greatest reluctance, a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, and in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose: But before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me, to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquility of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public Character, and to give my final blessing to that Country, in whose service I have spent the prime of my life, for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own. . . .

There are four things, which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent power . . . 1st. An indissoluble Union of the States under one federal Head. 2ndly. A sacred regard to public Justice. 3dly. The adoption of a proper Peace Establishment, and 4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabrick of our Independancy and National Character must be supported—Liberty is the basis—and whoever would dare to sap the foundation or overturn the Structure under whatever specious pretexts he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execrations and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured Country.

For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country, having in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the Army that their Country would finally do them compleat and ample Justice and not wishing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed collection of papers relative to the half pay & commutation granted by Congress to the Officers of the Army. From these communications my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons which induced me, at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the Army and myself are open to all and contain in my opinion sufficient information to remove the prejudices and errors which may have

been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say anything more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress now alluded to, are undoubtedly as absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn Acts of Confederation or Legislation. As to the idea, which I am informed has in some instances prevailed, that the half pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded forever—that provision should be viewed as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress at a time when they had nothing else to give to the Officers of the Army for services then to be performed. It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the Service—it was a part of their hire, I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood and of your Independency—it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honor—it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity nor be cancelled until it is fairly discharged. . . . I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me—the task is now accomplished I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief Magistrate of your State, at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of Office and all the employments of public life. It remains then to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature at their next meeting and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished on all occasions to be useful to his Country and who even in the shade of retirement will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.”

SPARKS: “*The Legislatures, that were sitting when this letter was received, passed resolves highly honorary to the Commander-in-Chief; and the Governors of the States wrote letters to him expressing thanks and gratitude for his long, devoted, and successful services in the cause of his country.*”



THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK

(*Third Paper*)

IV

LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTION

AFTER the Revolution the method of drawing a lottery changed. Tickets instead of being placed in boxes were placed in wheels, the numbered tickets in one wheel, the unnumbered tickets, consisting of blanks and prizes, in a second wheel. It was the practice to employ two boys to draw the tickets.

The first act relative to lotteries passed after the Revolution was enacted in 1783 to suppress private lotteries and to remit certain penalties imposed under the act of 1774.¹ The act of 1783 reiterated the penalties of the act of 1774. It provided, however, that offences against the act of 1774 committed since the fourth of July 1776 be pardoned, and all penalties and forfeitures be remitted.

A lottery was authorized in 1790 to enable the government of New York City to raise £13,000 to repair the City Hall.² The repairs and improvements in the City Hall were made so that the building would be better adapted to the needs of the Congress of the United States which was then sitting in New York.

Five years later a lottery was authorized for the purpose of erecting buildings where the poor and indigent might be cared for.³ The act stated that expenses since the war had been so heavy that the money could not well be raised by taxation. It stated further "The city from its situation is necessarily the receptacle of a greater proportion of paupers than any other city or county within this State."

In 1797 an act was passed to authorize the raising of \$45,000 in three lotteries to open up and improve certain great roads.⁴ The roads which were to be opened and improved are as follows:

¹ *Laws of the State*, I, ch. 12.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. 594.

³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 83.

- (1) Great Genesee Road from old Fort Schuyler to Geneva.
- (2) Albany to Cohoes Falls, Waterford, Fort Edward, Fort Ann, Lake Champlain and Wood Creek.
- (3) Cooperstown to outlet of Skaneateles Lake.
- (4) Catskill to Owego.

The managers were empowered to conduct the lottery as they deemed best.

The year following a supplementary act was passed authorizing the managers to sell tickets in lots of twenty-five on credit on the condition that satisfactory security be given.

In 1800 was passed the first of a number of acts authorizing lotteries to provide for the improvement of the navigation of the Hudson.⁵ The act of 1800 was to provide for improving navigation between Albany and Waterford. The sum raised was \$13,000. The year following a further grant of \$10,000 was made for the same purpose to be raised by the same managers.

The famous act "for the encouragement of literature" was passed at the same time. This act authorized the raising of \$100,000 by four successive lotteries of \$25,000 each.⁶

Another act for the improvement of roads was passed at the same time.⁸ It provided for the raising of \$45,000 to be used in constructing a road from Rome to Brownsville and the St. Lawrence River. This lottery was known familiarly as the Black River Lottery. The managers were required to give bonds of \$10,000 each and also to deposit the sums collected in one of the state banks as soon as the receipts amounted to \$3000.

The following managers were appointed: Thomas Storm, David Gelston, Philip Ten Eyck of New York; Smith Thompson of Poughkeepsie; Elisha Jenkins of Hudson; Daniel Hale of Albany; and John Lovett of Lansingburg. Each manager was required to give a bond of \$10,000. The act also required that as soon as five thousand dollars was collected the sum was to be deposited in one of the state banks.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 469.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V, p. 299.

⁸ *Webster*, III, pp. 302-3.

Of the sum thus raised \$12,500 was to be paid to the Regents of New York to be distributed among the academies of the state; the residue to be paid to the treasurer of the state to be applied for the benefit of the common schools.

In 1803 an act was passed granting the further sum of \$7,500 for improving the navigation of the Hudson.⁷ The bond required of managers was increased to \$12,000, and their compensation was ten per cent. of the amount raised. This lottery was completed within three years. Three other lotteries were granted by the same act: \$600 for a bridge over the Schoharie River, \$5000 for improving the harbor at Sag Harbor and for the encouragement of whale and cod fishing, \$15,000 for the use of the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows in New York City.

In 1804 another grant of \$20,000 for the improvement of the Hudson River below Albany was made.⁹ The managers of the "Literature Lottery" were authorized to raise the money for this purpose, after they had completed the lottery originally granted by the act of 1801. The managers were authorized by the same act to raise \$12,000 towards the construction of the State Capitol.

The following year an act was passed changing the compensation of managers to fourteen per cent. of the amount raised. Managers were required to render a monthly account of the number of tickets sold and they were forbidden to take any tickets for their own use.¹⁰

On March 30, 1805, the famous act "for the endowment of Union College" was passed.¹¹ The preamble states that the plans of the college have been enlarged so that additional buildings and more professors are required, but that the funds of the college are inadequate to meet the demands. Hence \$80,000 was granted, to be raised in four successive lotteries of \$20,000 each. Managers were required to give bonds of \$30,000 and to make deposits as soon as receipts from the sale of tickets amounted to \$500. The lottery was not to be begun until the lottery for the improvement of navigation had been drawn; but the lottery was not to be postponed later than 1809.

The act stated that \$35,000 should be used for buildings and that \$35,000 should be put out at interest as an endowment to provide an in-

⁷ *Webster, Laws of New York*, III, p. 313.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 481.

¹⁰ *Webster*, IV, p. 233.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 113.

come for professorships. One-half of the remainder was to be used to establish a library, and the other half towards defraying the expenses of indigent students.

An act passed in the following year directed the Attorney-General to take personal charge of indictments against persons accused of violating the law forbidding private lotteries.¹² The same act gave permission to the Board of Health of New York to raise by lottery the sum of \$25,000 to erect buildings in which to keep persons afflicted with malignant diseases.¹³ In 1809 the Board was authorized to raise a further sum of \$5,000 for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum of New York.

An act of April 7, 1807, directed the managers of the Union College lottery to raise \$5,000 on each of the four classes of that lottery, a total of \$20,000, to be applied toward the building of the State Capitol.¹⁴

On the same day an act was passed appropriating the lottery funds which had been raised.¹⁵ It also authorized the managers of the Literature Lottery to raise an additional sum of \$26,300 to be used in improving the Hudson River between Lansingburgh and Waterford. The compensation of managers was increased to 15%. Managers were also required to reserve for at least sixty days, one-third of the tickets to sold publicly at retail.

Dealing in lottery tickets had become a business of large proportions. Lottery offices might aptly be compared to the stock brokerage houses of the present day. The statement at the end of the last paragraph gives a suggestion of the practice that had come into vogue. Managers had adopted the method of disposing of tickets in bulk to the lottery offices. The lottery offices then sold the tickets at advanced prices. The following advertisement inserted by the managers in the *Daily Advertiser* of February 22, 1802, gives the scheme of Lottery No. 1 for the encouragement of Literature:

¹² *Ibid.*, IV, p. 635.

¹³ *Webster*, IV, p. 627.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, V, p. 234.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, V, p. 320.

1 prize	\$25,000	\$25,000
1 prize	5,000	5,000
1 prize	2,000	2,000
2 prizes	1,000	2,000
x.x	x.x	x.x
x.x	x.x	x.x
x.x	x.x	x.x
x.x	x.x	x.x

1st drawn prize 5th day \$1,000.

1st drawn prize 10th day \$1,000.

1st drawn prize 40th day \$10,000.

9810 prizes

23190 blanks

33000 Tickets at \$6.....Total \$198,000
60 tickets a day to be drawn.

The following advertisement is from the New York *Advertiser* of November 9, 1804:

“All prizes! No Blanks As the Adventurer pleases.

At G. and R. Waite's Permanent Lottery Offices and Book Stores, No. 64 and 38 Maiden Lane, may be had Tickets in the Third Lottery for the Promotion of Literature which begins drawing on the third day of the next month.

Warranted Prizes
at 13 Dolls and 50 cts each

Tickets partaking of blank or prize 7 Dollars each. $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$. Purchasers have advantage of examining check books at either office.

Lottery insurance conducted as above at the most liberal terms.”

The price of tickets depended somewhat upon the value of the prizes which remained undrawn from day to day, as the following advertisement will illustrate:

(Daily *Advertiser*, August 8, 1807). “If the capital prize of \$10,000 remains in the wheel on the 45th day of drawing, tickets will then

come for professorships. One-half of the remainder was to be used to establish a library, and the other half towards defraying the expenses of indigent students.

An act passed in the following year directed the Attorney-General to take personal charge of indictments against persons accused of violating the law forbidding private lotteries.¹² The same act gave permission to the Board of Health of New York to raise by lottery the sum of \$25,000 to erect buildings in which to keep persons afflicted with malignant diseases.¹³ In 1809 the Board was authorized to raise a further sum of \$5,000 for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum of New York.

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Dealing in lottery tickets had become a business of large proportions. Lottery offices might aptly be compared to the stock brokerage houses of the present day. The statement at the end of the last paragraph gives a suggestion of the practice that had come into vogue. Managers had adopted the method of disposing of tickets in bulk to the lottery offices. The lottery offices then sold the tickets at advanced prices. The following advertisement inserted by the managers in the *Daily Advertiser* of February 22, 1802, gives the scheme of Lottery No. 1 for the encouragement of Literature:

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1 prize	\$25,000	\$25,000
1 prize	5,000	5,000
1 prize	2,000	2,000
2 prizes	1,000	2,000
x.x	x.x	x.x
x.x	x.x	x.x
x.x	x.x	x.x
x.x	x.x	x.x

1st drawn prize 5th day \$1,000.

1st drawn prize 10th day \$1,000.

1st drawn prize 40th day \$10,000.

9810 prizes

23190 blanks

33000 Tickets at \$6.....Total \$198,000
60 tickets a day to be drawn.

The following advertisement is from the New York *Advertiser* of November 9, 1804:

"All prizes! No Blanks As the Adventurer pleases.

At G. and R. Waite's Permanent Lottery Offices and Book Stores, No. 64 and 38 Maiden Lane, may be had Tickets in the Third Lottery for the Promotion of Literature which begins drawing on the third day of the next month.

Warranted Prizes
at 13 Dolls and 50 cts each

Tickets partaking of blank or prize 7 Dollars each. $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$. Purchasers have advantage of examining check books at either office.

Lottery insurance conducted as above at the most liberal terms."

The price of tickets depended somewhat upon the value of the prizes which remained undrawn from day to day, as the following advertisement will illustrate:

(Daily *Advertiser*, August 8, 1807). "If the capital prize of \$10,000 remains in the wheel on the 45th day of drawing, tickets will then

be advanced to 10 dollars each, and will continue advancing daily one dollar, as long as it remains in."

An advertisement of May 31, 1805, stated that the tickets were nearly all sold; that the capital prize still remained in the wheel, and that only a few days remained for the drawing; that the price of tickets was fourteen dollars, but that it would advance on Monday to fifteen dollars.

Lottery dealers usually received tickets in the State lotteries from the managers at the par value of six dollars. Dealers, therefore, did a lucrative business in selling tickets at prices ranging from six and one-half to twenty dollars. Besides selling tickets outright, lottery offices did a business in letting out of tickets. A person might hire a ticket for a particular day at rates varying from fifty cents upward. If the number of the ticket were drawn during the time of rental, the holder of the ticket was entitled to any prize that it might draw. If the number remained undrawn the ticket, of course, was returned to the lottery office. Moreover, it was not necessary for a person to buy a whole ticket. Tickets were sold in "shares of halves, quarters, and eighths. Every provision was made to make it possible for the person of slender means to participate in the wonderful advantages of the lottery. One of the frauds which was frequently practiced upon purchasers of tickets was the selling of tickets which had already been drawn and were known to be blanks. Lottery dealers, therefore, often made much parade about the fact that tickets purchased in their offices were "warranted undrawn."

The essential and grievous evil of the lottery business was the insuring of tickets. The disastrous effects which developed from the practice of insuring tickets was responsible more than anything else for the storm of public disapproval which resulted in the sweeping away of lotteries simultaneously in about all the states. And yet little or no mention of the subject has been made by those who have written upon the subject of lotteries in America. Of course, contemporaneous discussions of the subject teem with criticisms of the practice.

A. FRANKLIN ROSS.

NEW YORK CITY.

(To be continued.)

REMINISCENCES OF THE FREMONT CAMPAIGN

THE year 1856 found me in New York City. Social, religious, and political life were alike at high tension. Beecher was expected every Sunday to touch the quick of social wrong; including such dramatic events as the enfranchisement of a beautiful slave girl from his pulpit. How the people threw the cash to buy her—giving all, even their ornaments! The American Tract Society was holding crowded anniversaries, to discuss the expurgation from their publications of anti-slavery Biblical passages. The discussions were perfervid. Dr. George B. Cheever blistered the cowards, in his church on Union Square; and it was rapidly getting to be impossible for compromise to show its face.

It was the day of great orators, because there was a topic abroad which compelled men to be eloquent. Horace Greeley was the first of these great leaders that I heard on the platform. He stood leaning over, and drawing a huge red handkerchief through his hands, from end to end—first through one hand, and then through the other. His face, surrounded by white hair, looked like a full moon. He drawled sarcasm, and pulled out of his handkerchief damnation for those whom he opposed. In fact he picked his enemies' bones before he got through, and sat down defiant. Edward Everett delivered, in the largest opera house, his address on Washington. Before the doors were opened the streets were packed as far as could be seen, and, when opened, the surging mass ground its way through the passageways, crushing and terrifying those who were caught. We passed back, over our heads, fainting women and frail men. But hear these brilliant orators the people must.

Charles Sumner came in the autumn of 1855. He was superb in build, and magnificent of brow. When he came on to the platform, he dropped into a chair sideways and carelessly, then laid one leg over the other, and looked as if he did not see the audience. But when he began, he became every inch a Jove. The people insisted on hearing him five times, in New York and Brooklyn, before they would let him go on to Washington. His topic was, "The Duty of the South."

He had hardly taken his seat in the Senate before he was assaulted by Brooks, with the evident intention of assassinating him. Then began the fury of the tempest. An indignation meeting was called in the Tabernacle, at Howard Street and Broadway—a building capable of holding about three thousand. It was the church of Joseph P. Thompson, leader of the liberals in theology—also notable as an anti-slavery leader. Only a part of the crowds could get into the building. Speech after speech touched the very quick of the nation's sore. It was an assemblage of as respectable people as I ever saw gathered; but it was not long before they began to cry for vengeance. Speakers were interrupted with shouts, and finally curses. When affairs were already at a white heat, a man came upon the platform from the wings, wearing a linen coat. The chairman, John Jay, after a brief consultation, touched the speaker, and introduced the stranger. He stepped to the front, gave his name, I think it was Representative Granger, who, lifting his coat, cried "This coat of mine is saturated with the blood of Charles Sumner." He could go no farther—the audience stood upon the seats, yelling and cursing and demanding vengeance. It was wild with madness. I have never seen anything of the like elsewhere, and pray never to see the like again. They would have torn Brooks in pieces had he been there. I believe that there were many people very profane that night, to whom an oath had before that been unknown.

Hot times for both politics and theology were those. I saw Theodore Parker when he pounded on the big wooden pillars that flanked the Tabernacle platform, and cried "Yes! Yes! It is you that are sound! sound! sound!" and as the echoes went through the hall, he added "because you are hollow." His followers were very few in those days, and it looked about equally far off to the abolition of slavery and the triumph of liberal theology.

Such were the environments of the times; 1856 brought us to the sure conclusion. The Republican party was formed, and nominated for President John C. Fremont. As for Vice President it little mattered, although it was William L. Dayton of New Jersey. We voted for, sung for, and shouted for "Fremont and Jessie." This brilliant little woman was the daughter of Senator Thomas H. Benton, and she was possessed of qualities remarkably taking with the common people. It was the *cause*, however, above the candidates. Some of us were feeling as if, on the shore, a big tide had rolled in upon us unexpectedly. We had been ac-

customed to argue that slavery could not outlive another hundred years; it was destined to go within ten. Could it be possible that we, who remembered the mobs of Boston, Philadelphia and Utica, were about to see slavery beaten and abolition triumphant? Born myself in a station of the underground railroad, I had seen many a runaway railroaded into Canada, or hid among the farmers of Northern New York. It is not to be wondered at that young Americans, with such heredity, should feel a keen sympathy for William Lloyd Garrison, and be willing to see the Dred Scott decision trampled upon—even if constitutional.

Fillmore was nominated by the "American Party," the "Know Nothings." He had signed the bill which made Northerners slave-catchers for their masters. His sense of duty may have been strong, but it certainly was strained when he undertook to compel free men to act as bloodhounds for Southern slave-holders. Buchanan got the Democratic nomination, mainly because of his subserviency of temperament, and a habit of piously turning over to the Lord the consequences of his own indecision. In New York City, Fillmore had a strong support; the young American bullies were all to be counted among his followers.

One night, while going up Broadway, about nine o'clock, I stopped with a friend in front of the old Lafarge House, to watch some Fremonters, who were raising a banner across the street. We got into conversation with a guest of the hotel, a gentleman from California. He knew Fremont well, and told us many stories illustrative of his plucky character. While we were still talking, a crowd suddenly broke loose from a nearby hall, and poured down stairs, into the street. It was a Fillmore club, headed by a huge bully. Pulling off his coat, he forbid the hoisting of the banner. With voluble cursing, his followers immediately set to work to tear down what had already been done. Our California friend, who was a very quiet individual, took off his coat and handed it to me; then quickly stepped in front of the blustering leader, saying to him, "Sir, I heard you use the name of Colonel Fremont with vulgarity. If you utter that name again I will knock off your empty head." The bully looked him over—he was superbly built—then put on his coat, and quickly got out of sight, and his followers with him. The banner was erected. Our new-found friend thanked me, saying "I am Colonel Selover, and am here negotiating California bonds. I am not a fighting man, but I must defend the honorable name of my friend Fremont."

The nominating Convention met at Philadelphia, at the call of a

preliminary convention, held in Pittsburg, on Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1856. Minnesota, Nebraska and Kansas were then only Territories, but they were all represented in the Convention; and so also were Maryland and Virginia of the South, and Arkansas of the South-western States. The platform announced that the convention consisted of those who opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; opposed the extension of slavery into free territory; favored the admission of Kansas as a free State, and who desired to restore the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. It reaffirmed the principles of the Declaration of Independence; declared that the Constitution grants Congress power over the Territories; and affirmed the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories, "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." It denounced the Ostend Manifesto, a document issued by our ministers at London, Paris and Madrid, and claiming our natural right to assume authority over Cuba. Any intervention in that island was denounced by the First Republican platform. It further resolved that a railroad to the Pacific Ocean was imperatively demanded, and that it should be constructed by the aid of the Federal Government. The platform on which Lincoln was elected was very similar; denouncing secession; asserting State Rights; affirming that freedom, and not slavery, is the normal condition of civilized society; but referring to commence with these words, "While providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of international exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

The ratification of the nomination of Fremont was held in the Tabernacle; from which we marched to hear from Fremont himself. His house was on Ninth street (or possibly it was Eighth street) and near Fifth Avenue. We marched up Broadway twelve deep, and it took a full hour to pass a given point. A crowd of six or eight thousand in those days was a monster assemblage. I do not remember but four,—the audience of Edward Everett, to which I have already referred; the indignation meeting over Sumner, the ratification of Fremont's nomination; and the funeral of "Bill" Poole, a murdered prizefighter. (This

last filled all the streets, the windows and the house tops, all the way from Greenwich Avenue, at Eleventh Street, to the wharf; and on the other side of the river to the cemetery.) So absolutely solid was the human mass as we drew up before Fremont's residence, that no one could have possibly got out of it. Fortunately it was a good-natured crowd and very considerate. My umbrella got out of my hand at one time, but it could not fall to the ground. It simply worked and squeezed along for about ten feet, when I succeeded in getting it passed back to me.

The enthusiasm of this campaign was full as hearty for "Jessie" as for her husband. I remember well the campaign songs back as far as 1840; when we sung

For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too—Tippecanoe and Tyler, too;
And with them we'll beat little Van!
Van, Van is a used up man!
And with them we'll beat little Van!

This song and others like it rung out from Maine to the far West. But the people were a rifle's range higher in their aims and purposings, when they sung:

Free speech! Free press! Freedom! Free trade!
Fremont and Jessie!

This was sung, with any amount of variation, but it must not be forgotten that the new party placed its emphasis on strict and unalloyed freedom; the equality of all men according to the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. It also came very near being a free-trade party; for in this first platform there was not one word concerning protection. The two fundamental principles were: a Pacific railroad and no more slave territory.

I believe that no one considered Fremont a very great man, or a statesman, in any other sense than that he was a lover of human freedom. That he was independent and thoroughly brave we knew, and that he was himself somewhat lawless in his defense of what he believed to be right was suspected. But the doctrine of a higher law was in the air. Mr. Fremont also had a taking reputation, that served as a coulter before the plow; and, fortunately, he was not elected. Had he been elected the war would have come on prematurely, while he would have lacked that

sublime patience and caution which in Lincoln was always correlated with unflinching courage. It is not impossible that the election of Fremont would have permanently divided the Union—not, however, without a fierce conflict, and probably wounds that could never have been healed. I took to my home in Clinton, from New York, a fine lithograph of Fremont, which still hangs on my walls, linking together the memories of fratricidal hate with a thoroughly restored brotherhood. It is the face of a strong will, and active alert intelligence; but it is not a face that would hang beside that of Abraham Lincoln.

CLINTON, N. Y.

E. P. POWELL.

MINOR TOPICS

CAMELS ON THE PLAINS

One of the strangest sights ever witnessed on the Colorado Desert, was when a drove of camels crossed it in going from Fort Tejon to Albuquerque. Owing to the heat, scarcity of food and water, and the hostile Indians, transportation difficulties were such as to daunt any Secretary of War; and for several years efforts were made in Congress to obtain an appropriation for camels. Finally Jefferson Davis obtained it, in 1855. Thirty-three animals were brought from Africa, six Arabs (one a Bedouin of the desert and professional camel doctor) came with them, all the way from Smyrna to Indianola, Texas, in May, 1856. The herd traveled to San Antonio and Green Valley, by easy stages, where camp was made and experiments began. Major Wayne, in charge, sent three six-mule teams, with a wagon each and six camels to San Antonio, for oats. In going, the camels were held back to accommodate the slower mules. Returning, the camels carried 3648 pounds of oats, while the wagons brought 1800 pounds each. Thus three camels equaled six mules and a wagon; and came back in two and a half days, while the mules took nearly five.

Experiments at Indianola, too, demonstrated the great strength of the camels—one carrying 1256 pounds readily. In 1857, a second herd, of forty-one, was brought to Indianola. In that autumn Lieutenant—afterwards General—Edward F. Beale was ordered to open a wagon road from Fort Defiance, N. M., to the eastern line of California, and some camels were put at his disposal. The trip took forty-eight days, through

an unexplored wilderness of forest, plain and desert, the Colorado river being reached October 18. Beale was enthusiastic about the camels on this arduous journey. He says they saved the men many hardships, and excited admiration by their ability and willingness. He started with the determination that the experiment should be most thorough, and subjected the camels to trials which other animals could not have endured. They carried water over the desert, traversed ground covered with the sharpest volcanic rock, without injuring their feet, climbed with heavy loads over mountains where the unloaded mules found it hard work to go even with the help of their dismounted drivers; and to everyone's surprise swam rivers easily and without hesitation. He said he would rather have one camel than four mules.

With such an introduction, one wonders that camels are not used to-day. But adverse circumstance soon arose. Officers who knew how to handle the camels were transferred elsewhere, the mule drivers were incompetent and unwilling to learn, and some of the creature's supposed virtues were found to be vices. As J. M. Gwinn writes: "He could travel sixteen miles an hour. Abstractly that was a virtue, but when camp was made and he was turned loose to forage, he was apt to stray twenty-five or thirty miles off. He could carry a ton—this was another virtue, but when two camels collided on a narrow trail, as they always did when opportunity offered, and tons of supplies were scattered over miles of plain, it is not strange that drivers anathematized the whole camel race from the one Mahomet rode down to the smallest imp of Jeff. Davis." Horses and mules shared the antipathy felt by the men. One camel could stampede a herd—but this, as well as the other objection, could have been overcome easily, had some officer had charge with intelligence and interest sufficient to teach the men how to handle the animals. When the Rebellion broke out, the camels were almost forgotten. The herd was distributed among strangers who reported more and more adversely upon them. Finally orders were issued and the herd sold, most of them doubtless finding their way into menageries and zoölogical gardens. A few, however, escaped, and ever since there float in occasional reports of one or more camels having been seen in the deserts of Southern Arizona.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES,

—*The Romance of the Colorado Desert.*

RELIC OF CLIFF DWELLERS.

It is a curious fact and one much commented upon by archæologists that the pictographs so common in the cliff and cave dwelling regions of New Mexico are almost wholly absent from the ruins of the Mesa Verde in southwestern Colorado.

In one room of the cliff palace are found some straight line markings, but there is nothing imitative of animals, birds or reptiles in this, the balcony or spruce tree house.

Recently, however, there was found in the Montezuma valley, about a mile and three-quarters southeast of Cortez, on the slope of a bench which arises from the McElmo canon bottom, a slab of rock about six feet long by four and one-half feet high, on which there are deep carvings similar to the markings on the Puye and San Cristobal ruins of New Mexico.

This detached slab was lying on an incline and had apparently split off from a larger rock some distance above it. There are no similar rocks near where this was found, but in one place about 200 yards away there are a few characters cut in a rock. It required four horses to remove this stone record from its abiding place to the yard in the rear of the Montezuma County court house, where it now reposes.—*Denver Republican*.



COMMUNICATIONS

THE PURITANS AND THE INDIAN LANDS

(Mr. Sidney S. Rider, of Providence, R. I., sends us an acrid criticism of Mr. Eno's paper, which appeared in our issue for November, 1906. Mr. R. has apparently never heard of Grattan's historic remark about being severe and parliamentary at the same time—but we referred the matter to Mr. Eno, whose reply follows Mr. Rider's attack.—ED.)

IN the *Magazine of History* for November, 1906, published in New York city, there is a paper entitled "The Puritans and the Indian Lands," written by Joel N. Eno, A. M., of Yale University. In this interesting paper I note this clause (page 280): "Of Roger Williams in Rhode Island, it has been aptly said he preached concerning the fair purchase of Indian lands, what the Puritans practiced; his gospel was their law." I trust that Mr. Eno of Yale will not deny that Roger Williams was banished from the Massachusetts colony in 1635-36; and that the Puritan governor ordered Mr. Williams off the lands which Plymouth *fraudulently* claimed, and ultimately lost, and Rhode Island obtained. In his "Answer to Master Roger Williams," Master John Cotton uses this language: "The grounds of the sentence of his banishment . . . holdeth forth these foure particulars." The first only I will reproduce. Thus it is:

"That we have not our land by patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by patent." (Narr. Club. Pub. 2, p. 40.)

With respect I ask the learned gentleman from Yale if he really believes that Roger Williams was really preaching the methods of obtaining the lands of the Indians then practiced by the two colonies; and that if he had so preached, would those colonies have made the cause above, *the first*, in their indictment?

Mr. Eno says, "the earliest deed on the record of Providence, conveyed the lands in Providence county." It is false in three particulars. It was not the earliest deed upon the records, nor did it convey a twentieth part of the lands in Providence county; nor was there then a Providence county.

Again Mr. Eno says, "they sold the Island Aquidnec to Williams, Coddington and others." Roger Williams was not a party to the purchase. Again Mr. Eno says, "for 40 fathoms of white wampum, 20 coats, and 10 hoes the purchase was made." It is not true. The island was purchased for 40 fathoms of white beads. The 10, not 20, coats; and the 20, not 10, hoes, was put in "Miantinomy's hands to be given to the inhabitants (who) shall remove themselves off the island before the next winter." (Portsmouth Records, 56.)

Again Mr. Eno says, in 1638, the Warwick-Coventry tract was sold. The name Coventry was not known in Rhode Island until 1741. There was never an Indian tract known as Warwick. Shawmut was the name of the Indian tract, but it was not sold until 1642.

This Mr. Eno is a graduate of Brown University, and if these things be specimens of the education then given him, heaven have mercy on the university.

I close with these two precious specimens. "More details, and purchases might be given, but here are enough to prove the established rule that *not* a foot of land was claimed or occupied on any other score but that of fair purchase." . . . "To sum up, the New England governmental principle and practice was equal, and impartial justice on the same plane to the Indians, as to the whites." (pp. 280-1.) Such work is a disgrace to any man of education; to Yale College, and to the *Magazine of History* which publishes it. It is not history.

MR. ENO'S REPLY

With the briefest possible time to answer, as the *Magazine* is nearly finished, I see for the first time objections to the article under the above title, only one of which affects at all the principle of purchase of Indian lands. This represents that the first clause in the "indictment" of Roger Williams by Massachusetts Colony, was "that we have not our land by patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners. Narr. Club, Pub. 2, p. 40." On the contrary, this is Roger Williams' own version of the cause of his banishment, which John Cotton names only and expressly to *confute*; thus: "He (Mr. W.) saith the grounds were rightly summed up by one of the magistrates; he doth wisely conceal his name, lest if he were named, he should be occasioned to bear witness against such fraudulent expression of the parti-

culars, whereof some were no causes of his banishment at all, and such as were causes were not delivered in such general Tearmes. There be many, if not most, that hold that we have not our land meerly by right of Patent from the King, but that the Natives are true owners of all that they possess or improve. Neither doe I know any amongst us that either then were, or now are, of another Minde." See Narr. Club Pub. 2, p. 40-47. As says S. G. Arnold (born and died in Providence), in his History of R. I., v. i., p. 29. "When we remember that the practice of the Puritans accorded precisely with the theory of Williams in respect to the Indian titles that all the land they occupied, except what they found deserted, owing to the pestilence which preceded the arrival of the Pilgrims, had been purchased by them of the original proprietors—we cannot discover in the ostensible reasons for this second arrest any sufficient cause for such treatment. That he (Williams) took what we should consider a needless exception to the *language* of the patent is apparent."

A stickling is made as to the word "deed" of Providence. Richman's "Rhode Island," one of the latest histories, gives this: "March 24, 1638, Williams procured a memorandum of conveyance from Canonicus and Miantonimo, reducing their gift to tangible form." The oral conveyance of about two years before was as valid as the later, "which is still in existence." See Rider Hist. Tracts, etc., and Arnold, v. i., p. 99. As to the purchase of Aquidneck, Williams, by his own testimony, was the negotiator of the purchase. The substitution of "white beads" by the objector for "wampum" is a mere quibble of words. They were used as money. The objection to the modern names of the territory, in writing for present readers, instead of forgotten Indian names, is a similar case. Brown University gave its verdict on a specimen of my historical writing in 1883 in the form of the prize for the best essay on a historical subject.

That the "white beads," 40 fathoms of which were to be paid to Canonicus for Aquidneck (now the Island of R. I.), were "wampum," the receipts prove. R. I. Colony *Records*, pp. 45-49, viz., Portsmouth *Records*, 1637. "Received 5 fathoms of wampum. Ye marke of Wanamataunewit." "Received by me Miantunnomu, of Mr. Coddington and his friends united for my paines and travell in removeing the natives off on the Island of Aquednecke ten fathom of wampumpeage and one broadcloth coate. I, Miantunnomu." "Received of Mr. Wm. Coddington and his friends united to him in full satisfaction for ground broken up or any other title or claime whatsoever formerly had of the

Island of Aquednecke, the full sum of five fathoms of wampumpeage and a coate. Wessaganesett, his marke." May 14, 1639. Ditto of above "the full sum of five fathom wampumpeage. Wanimenatoni, his marke." "Received by me twentie and three coates and 13 howes to distribute to the Indians that did inhabit of the Island of Aquidnecke, in full of all promises, debts and demands for the said Island, and allso two tarkepēs. Miantunnomu (mark). Cannonicus (mark). 22d Nov. 1639. The number of fathoms of wampum thus receipted for was 25, of coats 25, of hoes, 13.

Ousamequin receipts for 5 fathoms of wampum for the use of grass and trees on the east side of Narragansett Bay. Deed from Cannonicus to Roger Williams as explained by the "memorandum" immediately after it. "3 mo. 9-day, 1639." This (deed) was all again confirmed by Miantonnomi. He acknowledges this his act and hand; that up the streams of Pautuckqut and Pawtuxut without limits we might have for the use of cattle." R. I. Col. Records, p. 18: further defined in the confirmation by Canjaniquanute, sachem of the Narragansetts at the time as "all the land between Pautaukette & Pautuxette river, for feeding of their cattle & ploughing and all other necessary improvements as for farming," "20 full miles from Fox's hill in a straight line between the Pautaukette & Pautuxette river." (Pawtucket-Blackstone.)

J. N. ENO.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.



NOTES AND QUERIES

A LANDMARK GONE

About 1750, James Cowden built a large loghouse, about two miles south of the present village of Cambridge, Washington county, New York, and conducted it as a tavern. Being on the post road from Troy and Burlington, Vermont, it became a popular hostelry, as much so as the better known Bemis Tavern near the site of the battle of Saratoga.

Cowden took up arms in the patriot cause, and at the close of the Revolution had attained the rank of major. Resuming his occupation of tavernkeeper, he clapboarded the house and painted them, on all sides of the dwelling, in large squares of red and white.

The striking arrangement was probably suggested by the then favorite game of checkers; and the house at once acquired the name by which for over a century and a quarter it was known—the Checkered House—or, simply, the Checkers. It is worth noting that this is not an uncommon name—or sign—for a public-house in England—but so far as known, this is the only instance of the kind in the United States.

Ever since, the building has been one of Washington county's land marks—and its destruction by fire on February 10 is a matter of great regret to the citizens.

Tradition has it that many wounded from the battle of Bennington were cared for within its walls—and it is certain that Stark received his information of Colonel Baum's advance on the 15th of August, from a young man, John Weir, who lived not far from the Checkers, and whose headlong ride with the news gained him the local name of the Paul Revere of Bennington.

Major Cowden died in 1800. His widow afterwards married — Hall, having thus been married four times, first to Thomas Comstock, who was killed at Bennington, and then to another soldier, Captain Edward Long. Her son by the latter kept the "Checkers" for many years; and she herself, as long as able, attended the annual celebrations of the battle of Bennington.

J. E. W.

CAMBRIDGE.

SEMMES OF THE "ALABAMA."

Had Captain Semmes had any experience of war in the United States Navy (before he resigned to join the Confederacy), and, if so, when?

R. C. D.

DETROIT.

(He saw service in the Mexican War, and wrote a book about it, under the title of *Services Afloat and Ashore*.—ED.)

THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

CHAPTER XXV

A LONG VOYAGE

MUCH has been sung and written of the charms of the glorious Hudson—its smiling villages, its noble cities, its magnificent banks, and its majestic waters. The inimitable Knickerbocker, the graphic Cooper, and a thousand less celebrated writers and tourists have delighted to luxuriate in descriptions of its rich fields, its flowery meadows, whispering groves and cloud-clapped mountains, until its name is become synonymous with all the beautiful and sublime of nature. Associated as are these beauties with our earliest recollections, and nearest, dearest friends—entwined as they inseparably are with memorials of the past, anticipations of the future, we too would offer our humble tribute. But the theme has been exhausted by hands that snatched the pencil from nature herself, and nothing is left for us but to repress the feelings of our swelling hearts by silent musings.

Catalina, accompanied by her father, embarked on board of the good sloop *Watervliet*, whereof was commander Captain Baltus Van Slingerland, a most experienced, deliberative and circumspective skipper. This vessel was noted for making quick passages, wherein she excelled the much-vaunted Liverpool packets; seldom being more than three weeks in going from Albany to New-York, unless when she chanced to run on the flats, for which, like her worthy owners, she seemed to have an instinctive preference. Captain Baltus was a navigator of great sagacity and courage, having been the first man that ever undertook the dangerous voyage between the two cities without asking the prayers of the church and making his will. Moreover he was so cautious in all his proceedings that he took nothing for granted, and would never be convinced that his vessel was near a shoal or a sandbank until she was high and dry aground. When properly certified by ocular demonstration, he became perfectly satisfied, and set himself to smoking his pipe till it pleased the waters to rise and float him off again. His patience under an accident of this kind

was exemplary; his pipe was his consolation—more effectual than all the precepts of philosophy.

It was a fine autumnal morning, calm, still, clear and beautiful. The forests, as they nodded or slept quietly on the borders of the pure river, reflected upon its bosom a varied carpet, adorned with all the colours of the rainbow. The bright yellow poplar, the still brighter scarlet maple, the dark-brown oak, and the yet more sombre evergreen pine and hemlock, together with a thousand various trees and shrubs of a thousand varied tints and shades, all mingled together in one, inexpressibly rich garment, with which nature seemed desirous of hiding her faded beauties and approaching decay. The vessel glided slowly with the current, now and then assisted by a little breeze that for a moment rippled the surface and filled the sails, and then died away again. In this manner they approached the Overslaugh, a place infamous in all past time for its narrow crooked channel, and the sandbanks with which it is infested. The vigilant Van Slingerland, to be prepared for all contingencies, replenished his pipe and inserted it in the button-holes of his Dutch pea-jacket, to be ready on an emergency.

"Boss," said the ebony Palinurus, who presided over the destinies of the good sloop Watervliet—"boss, don't you tink I'd better put about; I tink we're close to the Overslaugh now."

Captain Baltus very leisurely walked to the bow of the vessel, and after looking about a little, replied, "A leetle funder, a leetle funder, Brom; no occasion to be in such a hurry before you are sure of a ting."

Brom kept on his course grumbling a little in an undertone, until the sloop came to a sudden stop. The captain then bestirred himself to let go the anchor.

"No fear, boss, she won't run away."

"Very well, quoth Captain Baltus, "I'm satisfied now, perfectly satisfied. We are certainly on de Overslaugh."

"As clear as mud," answered Brom. The captain then proceeded to light his pipe, and Brom followed his example. Every quarter of an hour a sloop would glide past in perfect safety, warned of the precise situation of the bar by the position of the Watervliet, and adding to the vexation of our travellers at being thus left behind. But Captain Baltus smoked away, now and then ejaculating, "Ay, ay, the more hashte de lesch shpeed; we shall see py-and-py."

As the tide ebbed away, the vessel, which had grounded on the extremity of the sandbank, gradually heeled on one side, until it was difficult to keep the deck, and Colonel Vancour suggested the propriety of going on shore until she righted again.

"Why, where's de use den," replied Captain Baltus, "of taking all dis trouble, boss? We shall be off in two or tree days at most. It will be full-moon, day after to-morrow."

"Two or three days!" exclaimed the colonel. "If I thought so, I would go home and wait for you."

"Why, where's de use den of taking so much trouble, colonel? You'd only have to come pack again."

"But why don't you lighten your vessel, or carry out an anchor? She seems just on the edge of the bank, almost ready to slide into the deep water."

"Why, where's de use of taking so much trouble den? She'll get off herself one of dese days, colonel. You are well off here; notting to do, and de young woman dere can knit you a pair of stockings to pass de time."

"But she can't knit stockings," said the colonel, smiling.

"Not knit stockings! By mine soul den what is she good for? Den she must smoke a pipe; dat is the next best way of passing de time."

"But she don't smoke either, captain."

"Not smoke, nor knit stockings!—where was she brought up den? I wouldn't have her for my wife if she had a whole sloop for her fortune. I don't know what she can do to pass de time till next full-moon, but go to sleep; dat is de next best ting to knitting and smoking."

Catalina was highly amused at Captain Baltus's enumeration of the sum-total of her resources for passing the time. Fortunately, however, the next rising of the tide floated them off, and the vessel proceeded gallantly on her way, with a fine northwest breeze, which carried her on almost with the speed of a steamboat. In the course of a few miles they overtook and passed several sloops, that had left the Watervliet aground on the Overslaugh. "You see, colonel," said Captain Baltus, complacently,—“you see—where's de use of being in a hurry den? Dey have been at anchor, and we have been on a sandbank. What's de difference den, colonel?”

"But it is easier to get up an anchor, captain, than to get off a sandbank."

"Well, suppose it is; if a man is not in a hurry, what den?" replied honest Captain Baltus.

At the period of which we are writing, a large portion of the banks of the river, now gemmed with white villages and delightful retreats, was still in a state of nature. The little settlements were "few and far between," and some scattered Indians yet lingered in those abodes which were soon to pass away from them and their posterity for ever. The river alone was in the entire occupation of the white man; the shores were still, in many places, inhabited by little remnants of the Indian tribes. But they were not the savages of the free wild woods; they had in some degree lost their habits of war and hunting, and seldom committed hostilities upon the whites, from an instinctive perception that they were now at their mercy.

Still, though the banks of the river were for the most part wild, they were not the less grand and beautiful; and Catalina, as she sat on the deck in the evening, when the landscape, tinselled with twilight, presented one long perspective of lonely grandeur and majestic repose, could not resist its holy influence. On the evening of the sixth day the vessel was becalmed in the centre of the Highlands, just opposite where West Point now rears its gray stone seminaries, consecrated to science, to patriotism and glory. It was then a solitary rock, where the eagle made his abode, and from which a lonely Indian sometimes looked down on the vessels gliding past far below, and cursed them as the usurpers of his ancient domain.

The tide ran neither up nor down the river, and there was not a breath of air stirring. The dusky pilot proposed to Captain Baltus to let go the anchor, but the captain saw "no use in being in such a hurry." So the vessel lay still, as a sleeping halcyon upon the unmoving mirror of the waters. Baltus drew forth his trusty pipe, and the negro pilot selected a soft plank on the forecastle, on which he, in a few minutes, found that blessed repose which is the golden prize of labour, and a thousand times outweighs the suicide luxuries of the lazy, sleepless glutton, whose repose is the struggle, not the relaxation of nature; the conflict of life and death. If he sleeps, it is in a chaos of half-real, half-imaginary horrors, from whence he awakes to a miserable languor, only to be relieved for a little

while by stuffing and stimulating the man-beast, and preparing him for another nightly struggle with his dinner and his bottle.

As the golden sun sunk behind the high mountains of the west, that other lesser glory of the heavens rose in full, round, silver radiance from out the fleecy foliage of the forest which crowned them on the east bank of the river. The vessel seemed embosomed in a little world of its own, with nothing visible but the sparkling basin of water, the waving mountains, one side all gloom, the other shining bright, and the blue heavens sparkling with ten thousand ever-during glories over head. Catalina wrapped herself in her cloak, and sat on the quarter-deck alone and abstracted, conscious of the scene and its enchantments only as they awakened those mysterious associations of thought and of feeling that establish the indissoluble union between the Creator and his works, the soul of man and the universal soul, which is nothing else but Omnipotence itself. Imagination and memory and hope mingled in her bosom, alternately the sphere of heavenly aspirations and gentle worldly wishes, such as pure virgins who have given away their hearts may entertain without soiling the white ermine of their innocent affections. Gradually her thoughts concentrated themselves upon Sybrandt Westbrook; she recalled to mind those past incidents of her life which seemed intended by heaven to entwine their hearts in one indissoluble being, and gradually worked herself up to the conviction, that they neither would nor could be separated. A flood of tenderness, hallowed by this infusion of a holy and mysterious sanction, rushed into her soul; she wished he were present at this apotheosis of all that was beautiful in nature, all that was tender in a woman's heart, that she might recline in his circling arms, lay her head on his bosom, pour out her overflowing floods of tenderness in his ear, and exchange her love for his, in one long kiss of melting rapture.

At this moment a wild shrill shriek or howl broke from the shore, echoed among the silent recesses of the mountains, and roused Catalina from her delicious reverie. In about a minute it was repeated—and a third time, after a similar interval.

"Dat is de old woman," said Captain Baltus, who was sitting on the hatchway, smoking his pipe, something between sleeping and waking.

"What old woman?" asked Catalina.

"Why de old Indian woman, what keeps about de rocks just ashore—dere—don't you see it close under dat pine-tree dere?"

"What Indian woman and what does she do there shrieking?" said the young lady.

"What! did you never hear dat story? and don't you know it's no old woman after all—but a ghost?"

"A ghost!"

"Ay—yes—a spook. I saw it one night when I got ashore on de flats just above de rock; and you may depend I was in a great hurry den for once in my life, I can tell you. It looked like de very old Duyvel, standing on de rock, and whetting a great jack-knife, as dey say."

"Who say?" asked Catalina.

"Why, my fader and grandfader—who are both dead, for dat matter; but they told me de story before dey died. We shall have sixteen rainy Sundays one after de oder, and den it will clear up wid a great snowstorm."

"Yes?"

"Yes; as sure as you sit dere. It always happens after dat old woman shows herself, and screams so, like de very Duyvel."

"Do you know the story?" asked Colonel Vancour, whose attention had been arrested by the conversation.

"Know it! why, to be sure I do, colonel. I have heard it a hundred times from my fader and grandfader. He was de first man dat sailed in a sloop all de way from Albany to New-York."

"We can't have higher authority. Come, captain—I see your pipe is just filled—tell us the story, and then I will go to sleep."

The worthy skipper said he was no great hand at telling a story; but he would try, if they would promise not to hurry him; and accordingly began:

"Once dere was an old woman—duyvel! dere she is again!" exclaimed Baltus, as a long quaver echoed from the shore.

"Well—well—never mind her; go on."

"Once dere was an old woman—" Here another quaver, apparently from the mast-head, stopped Baltus again, and made Catalina start.

"Duyvell!" cried Baltus; "but if I don't pelieve she is coming apoard of us!"

"Well—never mind," said the colonel again; "she wants to hear whether you do her full justice, I suppose. Go on, captain."

"Once dere was an old woman," he began, almost in a whisper; when he was again interrupted by the black pilot, who came aft with a light, and asked Baltus whether it would not be better to haul down the sails, as he saw some appearance of wind towards the north-east, where the clouds had now obscured the moon entirely. "Don't be in such a hurry, Brom," quoth the skipper; "time enough when de wind comes."

"Once dere was an old woman—" At that moment Brom's light was suddenly extinguished, and Baltus received a blow in the face that laid him sprawling on the quarter-deck, at the same instant that a tremendous scream broke forth from some invisible being that seemed close at their ears. Baltus roared manfully, and Catalina was not a little frightened at these incomprehensible manœuvres of the old woman. The colonel, however, insisted he should go on—bidding him get up and tell his story.

"Once dere was an old woman—" But the legend of honest Baltus, like Corporal Trim's story of "a certain king of Bohemia," seemed destined never to get beyond the first sentence. He was again interrupted by a strange mysterious scratching and fluttering, accompanied by a mighty cackling and confusion, in the chicken-coop, which the provident captain had stored with poultry for the benefit of the colonel and his daughter.

"Duyvell! what's dat?" cried Captain Baltus, in great consternation.

"O, it's only the old woman robbing your henroost," replied the colonel.

"Den I must look to it," said Baltus, and mustering the courage of desperation, went to see what was the matter. In a few moments he returned, bringing with him a large owl, which had, from some freak or other, or perhaps attracted by the charms of Baltus's poultry, first lighted on the mast, and then, either seduced or confused by Brom's light, darted from thence into the capacious platter-face of the worthy skipper, as before stated.

"Here is de duyvell!" exclaimed Baltus.

"And the old woman," said the colonel, laughing, "But come, captain, the more I see the more anxious I am to hear the rest of the story."

"Once dere was an old woman—" a hollow murmur among the mountains again suddenly interrupted him. "There is the old woman again," said the colonel. "'Tis de old duyvel!" said Baltus, starting up and calling all hands to let go the halyards. But before this could be accomplished, one of those sudden squalls, so common in the highlands in autumn, struck the vessel and threw her almost on her beam ends. The violence of the motion carried Colonel Vancour and Catalina with it, and had they not been arrested by the railings of the quarter-deck, they must inevitably have gone overboard. The Watervliet was, however, an honest Dutch vessel, of a most convenient breadth of beam, and it was no easy matter to capsize her entirely. For a minute or two she lay quivering and struggling with the violence of the squall that roared among the mountains and whistled through the shrouds, until, acquiring a little headway, she slowly luffed up in the wind, righted, and flapped her sails in defiance. The next minute all was calm again. The cloud passed over, the moon shone bright, and the waters slept as if they had never been disturbed. Whereupon Captain Baltus, like a prudent skipper as he was, ordered all sail to be lowered, and the anchor to be let go, sagely observing, "it was high time to look out for squalls."

"Such an accident at sea would have been rather serious," observed the colonel.

"I don't know what you tink, colonel," said Baltus, "but, in my opinion, it don't make much odds wedder a man is drowned in de sea or in a river." The colonel could not well gainsay this, and soon after retired with his daughter to the cabin.

Bright and early the next morning, Captain Baltus, having looked round in every direction, east, west, north, and south, to see if there were any squalls brewing, and perceiving not a cloud in the sky, cautiously ordered half the jib and mainsail to be hoisted, to catch the little land-breeze that just rippled the surface of the river. In a few hours they emerged from the pass at the foot of the great Dunderbarrack, and slowly opened upon that beautiful amphitheatre into which nature has thrown all her treasures and all her beauties. Nothing material occurred worthy the dignity of our story to record during the rest of the passage. True it is that Skipper Baltus ran the good sloop Watervliet two or three times.

upon the oyster-banks of the since renowned Tappan Bay; but this was so common a circumstance that it scarcely deserved commemoration, nor would I have recorded it here but for the apprehension that its omission might at some future period, peradventure, seduce some industrious scribe to write an entire new history of these adventures, solely to rescue such an important matter from oblivion. Suffice it to say, that at the expiration of ten days from leaving Albany, the good sloop *Watervliet* arrived safe at Coenties-slip, where all the Albany sloops congregated at that time. This extraordinary passage was much talked of in both cities, and finally found its way into the weekly *News-Letter*, then the only paper published in the whole new world, as may be seen by a copy now, or late, in the possession of the worthy Mr. Dustan, of the Narrows. It is further recorded, that some of the vessels which passed the *Watervliet* as she lay aground on the Overslaugh, did not arrive in nearly a fortnight after her; owing, as Captain Baltus observed, "to der being in such a hurry." After this famous exploit the *Watervliet* had always a full freight, and as many passengers as she could accommodate; so that, in good time, this adventurous navigator retired from following the water, and built himself a fine brick house, with the gable end to the street, and the edges of the roof projecting like the teeth of a saw, where he sat on his *stoop* and smoked his pipe time out of mind.

JAMES K. PAULDING.

(*To be continued*)



BOOK NOTICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO QUEBEC AND NEW FRANCE (*Inventaire Chronologique*), Vol I., 8 vo, paper (pp. viii-175), Vol. II. (pp. viii, 155, vi). Quebec, 1905, 1906. By N. E. DIONNE, M. D., LL. D.

These two well-printed volumes are the first half of a work obviously of great value to the student of Canadian history, covering as they do the period from 1534 to 1906. The first deals with the French issues (1764-1905) the second with those printed outside of Canada (1534-1906). The immense amount of labor involved is apparent to anyone having had, like the writer, a similar though even much less extended experience. The book is highly creditable to its scholarly author, the librarian of the Quebec Legislature, and its over five thousand titles will be a revelation to many students. The third and fourth volumes, which will complete the work, are presumably to appear within the next two years. The whole will constitute an enduring literary monument not alone to its author, whose explanatory notes add considerably to its value, but also to the French Section of the Royal Society of Canada, at whose instance Dr. Dionne undertook the work.

The edition is limited to three hundred copies.

ORIGINAL NARRATIVES OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY. The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503. The Voyages of the Northmen. Edited by JULIUS E. OLSON, Professor of the Scandinavian Languages and Literature in the University of Wisconsin. The Voyages

of Columbus and of John Cabot. Edited by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE, Ph. D., Professor of History in Yale University. With Maps and a Facsimile Reproduction. Ill. 8vo. xv.+443 pp. Price \$3.00 net +24c. postage. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1906.

"At its annual meeting in December, 1902, the American Historical Association approved and adopted the plan of the present series of "Original Narratives of Early American History." J. Franklin Jameson, Ph. D., LL. D, Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was chosen general editor. "The purpose of the series was to provide individual readers of history, and libraries of schools and colleges, with a comprehensive and well-rounded collection of those classical narratives on which the early history of the United States is founded, or of those narratives which, if not precisely classical, hold the most important place as sources of American history before 1700.

"The plan contemplates, not a body of extracts, but in general the publication, or republication, of whole works or distinct parts of works. In the case of narratives originally issued in some other language than English, the best available translations will be used, or fresh versions made. In a few instances, important narratives hitherto unprinted will be inserted. The English texts have been taken from the earliest editions, or those having the highest historical value, and are reproduced with literal exactness."

In the "Voyages of the Northmen" are presented the early Norse accounts of the discovery of Vinland as narrated in the Saga of Eric the Red, in the Saga of the Flat Island Book, in Adam of Bremen's "Descriptio Insularum Aquilonia," in the Icelandic

Annals and in the Papal Letters concerning the Bishopric of Gardar in Greenland. In his introduction Professor Olson has estimated the historical value of the sagas from which he concludes "that Leif Ericson and Thorfinn Karlsefni are as surely historical characters as Christopher Columbus, that they visited, in the early part of the eleventh century, some part of North America where grapes grew, and in that region the colonists found savages, whose hostility upset their plans of permanent settlement."

Nine documents of original narratives treating of the voyages of Columbus with explanatory introductions, are reproduced in the second part of this volume. Chief among the documents is the Journal of Columbus giving a daily account of the incidents of his first voyage, covering the time from August 3, 1492, to March 15, 1493—225 days. This Journal is from the English translation made by Sir Clements R. Markham, for the Hakluyt Society in 1893.

According to the Journal, land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana, but according to Prof. Bourne's footnote Columbus himself received the promised reward of 10,000 maravedis from the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon. However much modern writers may have considered this act discreditable to the great Admiral, we may be sure that this annuity of \$66½ paid to Columbus during his life cannot be considered in this twentieth century as an excessive price for the discovery of the New World.

The original narratives of the voyages of John Cabot are found in the letters of Lorenzo Pasqualigo, Raimondo de Soncino, and in the despatch of Pedro de Ayala. Unlike Columbus, Cabot himself was not a writer, and one has to depend largely upon the letters of two Italians sojourning in London in 1497 and 1498 and upon the official report of the junior Spanish ambassador at the English Court for collateral evidence concerning the voyages and discoveries of John Cabot. Wisely has the conflicting testimony concerning John Cabot and his son, Sebastian Cabot, been excluded.

Excepting the Journal of Columbus, the most valuable features of the volume are

found in the copious and accurate footnotes and scholarly annotations printed in close connection with the subjects which they illuminate.

Well indexed, with a map showing the four routes in the four voyages of Columbus and another showing the New World as represented on the Cantino Chart of 1502, with a facsimile of the first page of the first edition of the Spanish letter of Columbus to Santangel, issued in Barcelona in April, 1493, (now in the original edition preserved in the Lenox Library of New York), all conspire to make this volume one of the most important historical contributions to Americana of recent issue. Rendering accessible the original narratives of the discoverers of the New World at a price which places them within the reach of all scholars is indeed praiseworthy and exceedingly beneficial to American historical knowledge.

THE CRADLE OF THE REPUBLIC, JAMESTOWN AND JAMES RIVER.

By LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D.,
President of the College of William and Mary, Virginia. Ill. Maps.
12mo. vii.+286 pp. Richmond,
Va.: THE HERMITAGE PRESS, Inc.
1906 (Second Edition.)

Long has the author of this volume been widely known as the editor of the "William and Mary College Quarterly"—a notable magazine devoted to the history and genealogy of the "Old Dominion." In that portion of the Union which has suffered a greater loss of its original records than any other, Dr. Tyler has accomplished wonderful results in preserving its history.

In this volume is found a carefully sketched account of the primal and topographical history of Jamestown and the territory along the James River. This second edition is based upon two new sources of information, viz.: the Ambler MSS. now in possession of the Library of Congress, and the excellent monograph entitled, "The Site of Old Jamestowne," by Samuel H. Yonge.

These sources of information have enabled the writer to correct some serious errors which appeared in his first edition and to make public the identification of localities referred to in the earliest documents relating to Virginia. Such locations as "Passmore's Creek," "Black Point," "Pitch and Tar Swamp," and "Black House Hill," are for the first time published upon the map in this volume.

We are told that the combined labors of the Virginian historians and antiquaries have made it possible to reconstruct the ancient habitations of Jamestown in wood and brick just as they appeared in 1676.

In introducing the subject of colonization, the author considers Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh as "the true parents of North American colonization" and as "twin spirits who stand on the threshold of American history." Confining himself to the events directly associated with Jamestown in the seventeenth century, the writer devotes considerable space to the settlement of Jamestown and to the relations between the natives and the English.

At this time when the Jamestown Exposition is attracting much attention from all parts of the world, this volume appears to be most timely. Its great value lies in its facilities for telling what the historic spots are, and why they are historic.

This territory has established its claims to nearly half a hundred priorities of historical events in the United States, and visitors who go to Jamestown will find this volume an invaluable guide to those historic spots.

The story of Capt. John Smith, of Pocahontas, of Rolfe, of Virginia Dare, of the lost colony of Roanoke, of the old church wherein was celebrated the wedding of Pocahontas, of the early governors, and of the early social conditions, are entertainingly told in these pages.

Embellished with nearly one hundred illustrations, with lists of the early settlers and of the burgesses, this work combines in a rare degree the accuracy of the scholar with a popular, graphic representation of colonial life in ancient Jamestown and its vicinity.

HISTORY OF BOOTHBAY, SOUTHPORT AND BOOTHBAY HARBOR, Maine, 1623-1905, with Family Genealogies. By FRANCIS B. GREENE. Ill. Maps. 8vo. vi.+693 pp. Portland: LORING, SHORT & HARMON. 1906. Price \$3.00 net. For sale by the author, Boothbay Harbor, Maine.

The coastal towns of Maine, especially of Cape Newagen and its vicinity, present a historical field for study as ancient and intricate as the study of the explorations and settlement of North America itself. In fact the wider field possesses little that may not be properly included within the limits of any township area on the coast of Maine.

The author of this rich volume, himself a critical student of the history of this locality for more than twenty years, gives a rich, complete and comprehensive narration of the events associated with this ancient and important township. The opening chapter reveals the fact that there are within the limits of the original territory included in Cape Newagen (old Boothbay) 107 distinct localities, each having had at some period since 1623 a special, distinctive name. These names are explained fully in as many paragraphs, alphabetically arranged in this chapter. Such a topographical study must precede the interpretation of the documentary history of the territory.

The permanent settlement of the locality through the efforts of Col. David Dunbar, who came from England as the first Governor of the Sagadahoc region was commenced in 1740. Dunbar planned to found a city and succeeded in inducing forty Scotch-Irish settlers to take up lots and form a settlement which became permanent.

Of this settlement the author tersely states that the pioneers "were a people of pure Scotch blood, bred on Irish soil." Other settlers of English descent from New Hampshire and from Massachusetts increased the settlement in the following year.

Under the name of Townsend the territory was originally incorporated as a town November 3, 1763. Soon the settlers built a meeting-house in which the Rev. John Mur-

ray, a native of Antrim, Ireland, organized July 28, 1766, one of the earliest of the few Presbyterian churches in Maine. We are told in this volume that this church was reorganized as a Congregational church in 1798, since which time various denominational churches have flourished in this section.

In educational matters the author states that one hundred acres of land were set aside by vote for a school lot and that the selectmen were directed to secure the services of a schoolmaster. Faithful Singer, whose name, at least, indicated qualities befitting his calling, was chosen to cultivate the spirit of a better civilization for that locality, and ancient Boothbay commenced its process of social evolution out of which it "came to be what it is." Ten years later four "school-dames" were employed to carry forward the good work introduced by this oldtime schoolmaster.

The social, industrial and institutional history of the locality forms an important and well-treated portion of the volume.

Twice during the early period of settlement the inhabitants, too few and feeble to withstand the menacing Indians of the frontier, deserted their homes to return later. With great care the author has given the record of services rendered by the inhabitants during our Revolution. Carefully has he chronicled their services in later times and especially of those who responded loyally and patriotically to the call to preserve the Union.

Not the least among important features may be mentioned a chapter of marriage intentions covering the period from 1766 to 1820. Lists of town officers, representatives, clergymen, soldiers and early inhabitants, greatly enhance the value of the work.

The second part of the history treats of the genealogies of the families including both those extinct and existing.

To the author the settlement appears to have been originally composed of families who were acquainted before settling in the localities and in some instances related by intermarriage. To those who came direct from Scotland, New Hampshire and Maine each different company appears to have been composed of neighbors and relatives.

In these genealogies the writer has, in most cases, traced the families to a point earlier than their advent in Boothbay.

As the old town has sent her sons and daughters into every part of the Union, where they have established homes, their descendants will appreciate more and more, as the decades pass, this carefully prepared section on family history. The work is destined to be more earnestly sought for and more deeply prized for its extensive ancestral records of the old families who once lived in this locality.

Few New England towns have been so fortunate in the selection of their historian as ancient Boothbay. By subscribing for nine hundred copies in advance of publication, these towns have shown their appreciation of the author's efforts to preserve for all time and make accessible in all large libraries, the events and the records of a people occupying a not unimportant seaport town of Maine. In making possible the publication of the splendid history, the author has presented in a most entertaining narration and valuable compilation, the history of a locality but little known historically.

Well illustrated, fully indexed, and printed on good paper in nine- and ten-point type, the volume is highly creditable to the inhabitants of these towns and is a monumental illustration of the industry and perseverance, of the scholarship and intellectual endowments of its author.

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. V

MAY, 1907.

No. 5

CONTENTS

THE FRUITION OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787 (<i>Second Paper</i>) (<i>The late</i>) GENERAL WAGER SWAYNE	249
THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK (<i>Fourth Paper</i>) A. FRANKLIN ROSS	259
THE <i>SASSACUS</i> AND THE <i>ALBEMARLE</i> EDGAR HOLDEN, M. D., U. S. N.	267
UNPUBLISHED POEM BY JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE	274
THE MORAVIANS AT ONONDAGA, N. Y. REV. W. M. BEAUCHAMP	275
AN OLD LATIN LIFE OF WASHINGTON HUGH M. KINGERY	285
LAST BLAZES ON THE OREGON TRAIL F. G. M.	000
MINOR TOPICS:	
The Awakening of <i>Old Ironsides</i>	295
Romsey and the Danish Pirates	297
Proposed Extra Numbers of the MAGAZINE	299
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:	
Letter of Colonel Israel Keith to J. P. Palmer	300
Letter of General Philip H. Sheridan to Mrs. Gen. E. H. Stoughton	302
THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE: CHAPTER XXVI-XXVII JAMES K. PAULDING	304

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THE FRUITION OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

(*Second Paper*)

IN April, 1784, a substitute for the Bland Ordinance had become a law. Its controlling feature was the following provision:

Provided—That both the temporary and permanent government be established on these principles as their basis:

1. That they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America.

2. That in their persons, property and territory they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, and to the articles of Confederation, in all those cases in which the original States shall be so subject.

3. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States.

4. That their respective governments shall be in republican forms, and shall admit no person to be a citizen who holds any hereditary title.

5. That after the year 1800 *there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.*

This is the first appearance of that phrase which has now such transcendent associations.

The words "involuntary servitude" are not, as here used, a mere synonym of "slavery." They were meant to preclude the enforcement

of contract to serve for a term of years, or for life, and were of large practical value in that sense.³

That intending settlers might rely upon the provisions as irrevocable, this forerunner⁴ of the Ordinance went on to provide: "That all the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact; shall be duly executed by the President of the United States . . . and shall stand as fundamental conditions between the thirteen original States and these newly described, unalterable but by joint consent of the United States, and the particular State (involved). This feature is fully preserved in the subsequent Ordinance of 1787. The toleration of slavery until 1800 the committee reported in deference to the situation of some of the old French⁵ families, and perhaps some others, who already had slaves within the territory, and were protected there in holding them by treaty stipulations. Even this prospective exclusion was struck out in committee of the whole, on motion of Richard Dobbs Spaight of North Carolina.⁶ Thus modified, the Ordinance became a law April 23, 1784.

The men who had fought so long for a free country, and who proposed to make the total exclusion of slavery an essential and irrevocable feature of the Constitution of the State they were to found, had no use

³ An Indiana law of 1807, and continued in Illinois after separation from Indiana, provided that a slave holder who might bring his slaves into Indiana, could there make an agreement with them for services during a term of years. If the slave refused, the owner had sixty days to remove him into a slave State. Repeated litigations were had under this act, and it was uniformly held invalid, because in conflict with the prohibition of the ordinance we have quoted. Something of the same kind was attempted in some of the southern States immediately after the war. [The present peonage system in the South, notably in Alabama, is evidently a development of the same thing.—Ed.].

Probably the idea was suggested to Jefferson by the custom, at that time prevalent in this country with shipmasters and merchants, of bringing over white immigrants under contracts to serve for a term of years in lieu of payment of passage money. It is, to some extent, the present "padrone" system.

⁴ It is to be noted that the substitute for the Bland Ordinance was drafted by a committee consisting of Jefferson, Jeremiah T. Chase of Maryland, and David Howell of Rhode Island. General Swayne says Howell was of Maryland, but no one of the name was ever a member from that State. Mr. Edward Coles, in his "History of the Ordinance of 1787," says the "Chase" was Samuel (the "Signer"), but he was in England at the time, and Jeremiah T., who only served in 1783-84, was apparently appointed to fill out his term.—Ed.

⁵ At Vincennes, on the Ohio, at Cahokia, on the Mississippi, at Kaskaskia, thirty miles southeast of St. Louis, and at Detroit, were small French settlements. These, with a few families who claimed Virginia citizenship, made in all about three thousand people other than the Indians in the whole of that vast area. Even these were not citizens of the United States, and most of them gradually removed across the Ohio to "Louisiana," or to Canada, taking their slaves with them.

⁶ General Swayne says of South Carolina, but this is a mistake. He was afterward Governor of North Carolina.—Ed.

for a grant of governmental powers from which the power to exclude slavery was entirely withdrawn. This Ordinance fell flat, and no attempt of any kind was ever made to set up under it an actual government. It was a dead letter until replaced by the renowned Ordinance of 1787, in which the total exclusion of slavery was made an essential and irrevocable feature. Years afterwards, Dr. Cutler said to his son, Judge Ephraim Cutler: "I was acting for associates, friends and neighbors who would not embark in the enterprise unless these principles were unalterably fixed."

Early in 1785 Pickering wrote to Rufus King, then a Congressman from Massachusetts: "I should have objected to the period proposed (1800) for the admission of it (slavery) for a single day or hour, ought to have been forbidden. It is infinitely easier to prevent the evil than to eradicate or check it at any future time. Let one more effort be made to avert so terrible a calamity."

King replied, enclosing a committee report suggested by himself, embodying the needed prohibition—but which was never acted on.

About this time Pickering settled in Pennsylvania and does not afterward figure as one of the associates.

A principal cause of this dilatory course was the fact that the deeds of cession by Virginia and Massachusetts stipulated that the new States in the Northwest Territory should not exceed in area one hundred and fifty miles square, and the terms of this requirement had by resolution of Congress been accepted.

In and out of Congress it was felt that this limitation was unwise and would prove most unfortunate. Monroe was the most active exponent of this feeling. He had been at the pains to personally visit the Northwest Territory, after which he wrote Jégerson (January 19, 1786): "A great part of the Territory is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Erie and Michigan; and that upon the Mississippi and Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, from appearances, and will not have a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall, will, perhaps, never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the Confederacy; and in the meantime the people in them will be governed by the resolutions of Congress, in which they will not be represented."

This feeling led Monroe to take such action in Congress that, on his

motion, it was resolved, March 24, 1786, that: "It is recommended to the Legislature of Virginia to take into consideration their act of cession, and revise the same so far as to empower the United States . . . to make such a division of the territory . . . lying northerly and westerly of the River Ohio, into distinct Republican States, not more than five nor less than three. . . ."

Other causes were contributing at least to defer an active movement to restore the anti-slavery cause. The petition itself asked only [for a survey], and that then the grants requested may be made.⁷

No further attempt was made to amend the ordinance of 1786 until April 26, 1787, when a committee⁸ reported what was doubtless that ordinance in an amended form, containing no provision on the subject of slavery. On July 6, as we have seen, the agent of the Ohio Company appeared on the floor.

The "total exclusion of slavery," as "essential and irrevocable," was now, from whatever cause, at once to reappear. Richard Henry Lee wrote to Washington, enclosing a copy of the ordinance of 1787, and saying: "I enclose a copy of an ordinance that we have just passed for establishing a temporary government beyond the Ohio, as a measure preparatory to a sale of lands."

I must ask you to distinguish between the two matters to which Dr. Cutler's efforts were directed. One was the settlement of terms and negotiation of a purchase of the lands which the Ohio Company desired to obtain; the other was the enactment of an ordinance acceptable to the Associates, and which should supersede that of 1784.

The ordinance of 1787 was this substitute, and as we see, was adopted "as a measure preparatory to a sale of lands."

The Ohio Company's application for a sale of land having been the occasion for the passage of the ordinance, it is worth while to look into the share it had in securing the anti-slavery proviso—its vital clause.

At this time Congress was in New York, the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.

The qualification of the anti-slavery clause in the ordinance, providing for the reclamation of fugitive slaves, is in harmony with the corre-

⁷ Provision for this survey was not made until 1786.

⁸ Johnson, Conn.; Pinckney, S. C.; Smith, N. Y.; Dane, Mass.; Henry, Md.

sponding provision of the Constitution, and the two were contemporaneously adopted.

Many Congressmen were also members of the Convention. One was Rufus King, on whose motion the fugitive slave provision was inserted in the Constitution, and the same who, as we have seen, reported in 1785 an anti-slavery amendment to the resolutions of 1784. Under these circumstances, any evidence tending to show that the concurrent position of the two bodies, and the incorporation with the ordinance of the anti-slavery proviso, was the result of an agreement between persons who were members of both Congress and the Convention, is strongly corroborated by the circumstances of the case.

The other member of the committee of five, to whom was referred the original memorial of the Ohio Company, was James Madison, whose situation certainly enabled him to be well informed. His private secretary, while President, was Edward Coles of Virginia, afterwards Governor of Illinois—a man of great worth and force of character. In an address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in 1857, on the history of the ordinance, he said: "This brings to my recollection what I was told by Mr. Madison, and which I do not remember ever to have seen in print: The old Congress met in New York in 1787 while the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia—and many who were members of each thus knew what was passing in each—both sitting with closed doors and in secret session. The distracting slavery question was agitating and retarding both, leading to conferences which resulted in a compromise; the northern or anti-slavery members agreed to incorporate into both ordinance and Constitution the fugitive slave provision. This was the cause of the similarity of the provision contained in both, and had its influence in creating the unanimity by which the ordinance passed, and made the Constitution acceptable to the slave holders."

In harmony at least with such an agreement, Congress, after the adoption of the Constitution, applied to the territory south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, a substantial re-enactment of the Ordinance of 1787, but without the anti-slavery proviso.

This proviso, however, was not in the ordinance as reported by the committee. It was moved as an amendment, by Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, and was unanimously adopted. The ordinance was adopted with only one dissenting vote. Dane wrote Rufus King: "When I

drew the ordinance, I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth article, prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts, of the eastern States, was present—and therefore (I) omitted it in the draft; but finding the house favorably disposed on the subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the article, which was agreed to without opposition.” At this time both R. H. Lee and Edward Carrington were present in Congress. Lee certainly knew what had been agreed upon in committee. Both he and Carrington were warmly in favor of the exclusion of slavery, and both probably familiar with the agreement which Madison afterwards related to Coles. Their presence on the floor accounts for Dane’s access of information and motion to restore what he had omitted from the report.

These suggestions tend to show that the controlling influence which determined the anti-slavery proviso moved on a broader plane than the mere views or influence of the Ohio Company. It is well to remember that the company’s application was the immediate cause of the passage of the ordinance—and their views and wishes naturally entered into the deliberations by which it was framed.

Dr. Cutler has left a diary at once comprehensive and specific. June 25, in Boston, he “conversed with General Putnam, received letters, and settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company.” In New York he “delivered the petition and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. A committee was appointed to agree on terms.”

The record discloses that the committee was charged with the reporting of an ordinance for government, and that the “principles” were fully considered between it and Cutler, who further records: “I had proposed several amendments to the bill for the form of government . . .” and among his papers is a printed copy of the ordinance, on the margin of which is written that “Mr. Dane requested Dr. Cutler to suggest such provisions as he deemed advisable, and that at his instance was inserted what relates to religion, education and slavery.”

He writes: “July 19, was furnished with (a copy) of the ordinance. *It is, in a degree, new modelled. The amendments I proposed have all been made, except one, and that is better qualified.* It was that we should not be subject to Continental taxation, unless we were entitled to a full representation in Congress. This could not be fully obtained, for it was considered as offering a premium to emigrants. They have granted us representation, with the right of debating, but not of voting, upon our being first subject to taxation.”

Even the action of Congress, making the ordinance a law, declaring its provisions also to be articles of compact, was insufficient of itself—what was needed was life, the power that grasps and assimilates. That power came from the men who bore into the wilderness this ark of a new covenant, and set up there their Temple of New Institutions, in which it was enshrined. From that spot and by their aid it grasped, held and fashioned all those germs of great new commonwealths which afterwards grew up within the area of its jurisdiction, and have given to it its transcendent value of result.

After the passage of the ordinance, the Associates had three months to make the first payment, and on October 27 their contract was finally closed, covering one and a half million acres. They paid in "final certificates," (the soldiers' pay scrip before referred to) \$500,000. For this they received immediate possession, with power to improve and cultivate, seven hundred and fifty thousand acres. They were to pay as much more within one month of the completion of the survey, and then to have a clear title to the whole. It was considered that one million acres were actually purchased at one dollar an acre, and the price was governed by that estimate. This price, payable in public securities, was, at the price then ruling, about ten cents an acre, specie.

The half million acres remaining of the whole purchase was considered as donated for various purposes, for which, by the terms of the deed specific tracts were reserved. *E. g.*—for a university, two entire townships of six miles square, for common schools, section 16 (six hundred and forty acres) in each township; "for the purpose of religion," section 29 in each; and to be subject to future disposition by the United States, sections 8, 11 and 26 in each. It was stipulated that the university lands should be included in the very first tract which the company should pay for, "for to fix it in the center of the proposed purchase might too long defer the establishment."

The "Ohio Company" as they had now come to be called, held further meetings at Brackett's Tavern, Boston, in November, 1787.

At the first was adopted a plan for starting a town at the mouth of the Muskingum, and for the allotment of town lots and lands in severalty. At the second, the engineers and boat builders were directed to proceed to the head-waters of the Ohio, there, during the winter, to build boats in which the settlers in a body might in the spring descend the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum. The third meeting was held at Rice's Tavern

in Providence, when Dr. Cutler, Colonel Hay and Major Haffield White were appointed a committee "to consider and report upon the expediency of employing some suitable person as a public teacher at the settlement now making." The Rev. Daniel Story was accordingly chosen.

The twenty-two engineers and boat builders left Danvers, Mass., in December under charge of Major White.⁹ They reached Sumrell's Ferry, on the Youghiogheny, thirty miles above Pittsburgh, in January, 1788. In the same month the rest of the party met at Hartford, and began their march January 1, 1788, in charge of General Rufus Putnam. The second in command was Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, who was also one of the signers of the petition of 1783. The snow in the Alleghanies was so deep that they built sleds for their baggage. They had marched in winter time before—perhaps they had crossed the Delaware with Washington—and they pushed on, joining the boat builders at Sumrell's Ferry by the middle of February.

Just at this time Washington wrote to Lafayette that "the spirit of emigration to the western country is very predominant. Congress sold in the year past a pretty large quantity of land on the Ohio for public securities, and thereby diminished the domestic debt considerably. Many of your military acquaintances, such as Generals Parsons, Varnum and Putnam, Colonels Tucker, Sproat and Sherman, with many more, propose to settle."

June 19, 1788, he wrote to Richard Henderson: "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and

⁹ One detachment of the party came from Ipswich in a body. Dr. Cutler himself supervised their departure, and Jervis Cutler, one of his sons, was among them. Another son, Temple Cutler, has left a graphic account of the departure. Dr. Cutler's diary says: "Mon. Dec. 3: This morning a part of the men going to the Ohio met here two hours before day. I went on with them to Danvers. The whole joined at Major White's. Twenty men employed by the Company and four or five at their own expense marched at eleven. This party is commanded by Major White. Captain Putnam took immediate charge of the men, wagons, etc. Jervis went off in good spirits. He is well fitted for the journey."

Temple Cutler's reminiscence is: "The little band of pioneers assembled at Dr. Cutler's house, Ipswich, took an early breakfast, paraded about dawn in front of the house, and after a short address from him, fired three volleys (the men being armed), and went forward, cheered by the bystanders. Dr. Cutler accompanied them to Danvers. He had prepared a large wagon for their use, which preceded them with their baggage. It was covered with black canvas, and inscribed on the sides by Dr. Cutler, in white letters, *For the Ohio at the Muskingum*.—*Life Rev. M. Cutler*, I., 329.

there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

Mr. Cutler says that when Lafayette, who visited Marietta in 1825, arrived, he inquired, "who were the first to settle here?" On being told, he said: "I knew them well. I saw them fight the battles of their country at many places. Better men never lived."

The boats were finished by May—a large one forty-five feet long and twelve wide—and three canoes: the large boat, roofed and bullet-proof. For some years afterwards it served a useful purpose for safe transportation to and from the mouth of the Muskingum, and to it was given the name of *Mayflower*. It seems a dull mind's eye that does not see that, as the true freight of the original *Mayflower* was the covenant adopted in her cabin "for our better ordering and preservation to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, from time to time," so of this new *Mayflower*, the true burden which she bore was the ordinance of 1787, with its "Articles of Compact," and chief among them that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime." As to each of these incidents, the things that were not seen have proved to be the things that are eternal.

On the first of May they left—some fifty men in all—and went down the Youghiogeny into the Ohio. Meeting with no interruption, they reached the Muskingum, May 7, at once commenced building a block-house and laying out a town, which they called Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette.

In July they were joined by the officers provided for by the ordinance and elected by Congress—St. Clair, the governor, Sargent, the secretary, Parsons and Varnum, two of the three judges; the third, Major David Armstrong, having declined his appointment. All were ex-officers of the Continental army. On July 18 the government of the Northwest Territory¹⁰ was inaugurated by proclamation of the governor.

It is interesting to look back upon these few men assuming thus, in the name of the United States, authority over a great region extending from Pennsylvania and Virginia to the Mississippi, and from the Ohio to the Lakes. They were without troops, treasury or legislature; they could scarcely have maintained a single constable. The whole region was in control of great tribes of unsubdued Indians. There could scarcely be

¹⁰ Now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

said even to be any United States. The present Constitution was not yet fully framed, the Continental Government was but a rope of sand. It had not been able even to pay these very men their dues for service in war. Their faith was all that they and their associates had. It proved, as faith so often does, to be enough when coupled with endeavor. From this beginning of established government the progress of settlement was rapid. In August, 1788, eight families came, the colony now numbering one hundred and thirty-two men, with some women and children.

In October, John Cleve Symmes bought a million acres from the United States, fronting on the Ohio between the Great and Little Miami rivers. He had been Chief Justice of New Jersey, and was afterwards appointed to the post which Armstrong had declined.

WAGER SWAYNE.

(To be continued.)



THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK

(Fourth Paper)

INSURANCE of tickets made up a large part of the business of a lottery office. The following table advertised by Waite's lottery office, shows the rates of insurance on tickets in the Baltimore Grand Lottery:¹⁶

Sixth and Seventh days for.....	\$ 10	£ 0	2s.	8d.
	50	0	13	4
	100	1	6	8
	1000	12	5	8
Eighth and Ninth days.....	10	0	2	10
	50	0	14	2
	100	1	8	4
	1000	14	3	4
Tenth and Eleventh days.....	10	0	3	0
	1000	15	0	0

It will be seen from the table that a speculator on the sixth and seventh days of the drawing of the lottery might register a bet of ten dollars for the sum of two shillings and eight pence. The bet might be made in a variety of forms "to suit the convenience of the adventurer." For example, he might bet that a particular number would turn up blank or that it would turn up a prize.

The letting of tickets by the day, dividing tickets into shares, and the insuring of tickets, enabled persons of small means to invest their earnings in lotteries. Servant girls, clerks on small wages and laboring men furnished a large part of the patronage of lottery offices. It is probably impossible to make any just estimate of the effects of the gambling spirit that was thus encouraged among the very poor. No one will ever know how many air castles were built on imaginary fortunes, or how many hopes were raised only to be dashed as the result of the allurements held out by the lotteries.

¹⁶ *New York Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 25, 1808.

An act was passed in 1807 to restrain insurance of tickets.¹⁷ The act made it unlawful to register the numbers of tickets. The penalty for violating the law was to be a fine of \$250, or imprisonment for three months. It was also made a misdemeanor to sell chances on tickets or to publish any proposal. In 1809 the act was amended so as to apply to both private and public lotteries.

By reason of the failure of Philip Ten Eyck, one of the managers of the Literature Lottery, the State was obliged to pay the prizes which remained unpaid because of the failure. An act was passed in 1809 authorizing the treasurer to pay such claims.¹⁸ The loss to the State from this particular failure was \$41,059.78.¹⁹

In 1810 an act "for the promoting of Medical Science in the State of New York," was passed.²⁰ The act authorized the purchase of the extensive botanic gardens of Dr. David Hosack, located "at Elgin, near New York." The estate comprised about twenty acres and lay between what is now Fifth and Sixth Avenues and Forty-seventh and Fifty-first Streets. The gardens were to be used in the interests of medical science. The managers were directed to organize a lottery to pay for the estate as soon as the purchase price was ascertained. The managers were required to give bond for \$25,000.

The next month the managers of the Medical Science Lottery were authorized to raise \$30,000 more for improving the navigation of the Hudson River between Troy and Waterford. The same act directed the managers to raise \$5,000 for the use of Fairfield Academy.²¹ A week later the managers were directed to raise \$5,000 more to improve the road from Lake Champlain to the town of Chateaugay.²²

With the great increase in the lottery business, serious criticism of the management of lotteries arose. In some instances managers had failed; in others they were accused of practical defalcation. Accordingly an act was passed in 1813²³ relative to managers of lotteries. By this act managers were required to give bond to the amount of \$30,000, to take oath not to sell any tickets in which they were personally interested, or to purchase any tickets on their own account. They were also required to offer tickets at public sale for a period of sixty days at the original price. Then they were permitted to dispose of the remaining ones at public auc-

¹⁷ *Webster*, IV, p. 240.

¹⁸ *Webster*, V, p. 522.

¹⁹ *Vide*, p. 266.

²⁰ *Webster*, VI, p. 12.

²¹ *Webster*, VI, p. 51.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 300.

²³ *Revised Laws*, 1813, p. 270.

tion in parcels not exceeding fifty, payment for which might be made twenty days after the drawing of the lottery. Such tickets were not to be sold at less than the original price. The state comptroller was directed to report managers for negligence in the discharge of their duties.

In the same year an act was passed to prevent private lotteries and to restrain insurance of tickets.²⁴ The preamble stated:

"Whereas experience has proved that private lotteries occasion idleness and dissipation and have been productive of frauds and imposition——"

Justices were enjoined to charge grand juries to inquire into offenses against the law forbidding private lotteries. The penalty for violating the law was forfeiture of the amount of the lottery. The penalty for selling tickets in a private lottery was fifty dollars. Incentives were held out to encourage those concerned in illegal lotteries to turn state's evidence. All transfers of property by lottery were declared illegal and void.

The act forbade the registering of tickets or the insurance of tickets; violation of the law was punishable by a fine of \$250. Justices and magistrates were directed to put the law into force.

An additional grant was made to Union College, April 13, 1814.²⁵ The preamble of the act reads as follows:

"Whereas well regulated seminaries of learning are of immense importance to every country, and tend especially, by the diffusion of science and the promotion of morals, to defend and perpetuate the liberties of a free state——"

Doubtless the legislators considered that the future promotion of morals would offset the temporary effects of the gambling spirit, and that the future extension of light and learning would compensate for the blighted hopes of the present.

The act authorized the raising of \$200,000 for Union College. It also turned over to the trustees of Columbia College the Hosack Botanic Garden, on the condition that the college be removed to the site of the Garden. Columbia College officials objected to the apparent partiality shown to Union College in making such grants, while Columbia received nothing. Dr. Mason, President of Columbia, was sent to Albany in be-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 187

²⁵ *Laws of New York*, 1814, p. 142.

half of his institution. A compromise was arranged, therefore, by which Columbia received the Botanic Garden and Union was left in possession of all claims to the lottery fund. The real estate which came into the possession of Columbia has turned out to be the foundation of her wealth.

The act also granted to the Asbury African Church of New York, the sum of \$4,000, to Hamilton College, \$40,000, to the College of Physicians and Surgeons, \$30,000. The lottery was not to be opened until all former lotteries were completed. Three years later the managers of this lottery were authorized to raise the further sum of \$10,000 to improve the ferry between the city of Hudson and the village of Athens. With this act the raising of large sums of money by lottery about came to an end.

In 1817 Pennsylvania authorized a lottery to organize a company for the purpose of constructing a road from Owego, New York, to Milford, Pennsylvania. In view of the fact that the road would benefit the inhabitants of the western part of the New York, by affording easier communication with the eastern part of the state, the New York legislature removed all restrictions against the lottery as a foreign lottery.²⁶ Finally, it even gave permission to have the lottery drawn in New York City.²⁷

An act passed April 10, 1818, directed the managers of the Literature Lottery, of April 13, 1814, to begin the sale of tickets immediately after the fifth class of the Medical Science Lottery had been completed.²⁸ By this act managers were required to submit plans of each successive class to the comptroller for his approval. Managers were also directed to collect proofs of the infraction of the law against private lotteries, the sale of tickets in lotteries of other states, and the issuance of tickets. They were commissioned to prosecute and bring to justice all offenders against the law. Power was given to the executive of the state to remove managers and to appoint others "when the good of the state may require it."

In 1819 a thorough investigation of lotteries was made by a committee of the Assembly. As a result, an act was passed April 13, 1819, specifying in minute detail regulation that that were to be enforced with respect to lotteries:²⁹

- (1) Private lotteries were declared to be public nuisances.
- (2) Gambling was prohibited under penalty of forfeiting the whole amount of the sum hazarded or if the amount were in doubt, the forfeit was to be fixed at \$2,500.

²⁶ *Laws of New York*, 1817, p. 169. ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1818, p. 283. ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1818, p. 124.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1819, p. 258.

(3) Selling of tickets in an illegal lottery was made punishable by a fine of \$250.

(4) Any bargain made on the basis of a lottery was declared void.

(5) Registering tickets or publishing notices of registry offices was made punishable by a fine of \$1,000.

(6) Insurance of tickets was prohibited under penalty of a fine of \$2,000, or imprisonment for one year.

(8) Justices were required to enforce the act.

(9) Venders of tickets were required to secure licenses.

(10) In New York City licenses were to be issued by the Mayor for the sum of \$250. The avails from licenses were to be divided evenly between the "Institute for the Deaf and Dumb," and the "Free School." In Albany, Schenectady, Hudson and Troy, the charge for licenses was fixed at \$100, the avails to be used for the benefit of the poor. The term of licenses was three years, renewable on the payment of the same fee.

(11) Dealers convicted of selling tickets of unauthorized lotteries, were to be deprived of their licenses and besides punished by such other penalties as the law imposed.

(12) Anyone convicted of selling tickets without a license was to be fined \$100 for every ticket sold.

(13) The executive of the state was empowered to remove managers.

(14) Managers were required to give a bond of \$30,000, and to take oath (1) to honestly execute the trust imposed on them, (2) not to use any means to secure a prize, (3) to prevent any sinister practice, (4) to declare to whom prizes belonged, (5) to make no sales in which they were interested. The penalty for trespassing in any of these particulars was fixed at a fine of \$5,000.

(15) Managers were definitely forbidden to purchase tickets for themselves.

(16) The act stipulated that the managers should offer the tickets for a period of fourteen days to the public at the original price. After that time they might sell them at auction in parcels not exceeding \$5,000

in value. If tickets remained unsold, the managers were directed to open a lottery office for the benefit of the state.

(17) Every scheme was to be submitted to the comptroller for his approval.

(24) The comptroller was required to report managers who were delinquent or remiss in any way.

(25) The comptroller was directed to allow 15% to managers as compensation.

(33) The act required that persons who drew the tickets from the wheels should have their arms bared, that they should take the tickets between the thumb and forefinger, and that they should draw only one ticket at a time.

(35) The penalty for forging tickets was fixed at ten years imprisonment in the penitentiary.

(37) Managers were directed to collect proof of the infraction of the lottery laws.

(39) The comptroller was required to render an itemized report of the sums raised by lottery.

Certain scandals in the management of the Medical Science Lottery were largely responsible for the investigation which was instituted by the Assembly. The act given above was the outgrowth of the investigation. Charles N. Baldwin, the proprietor of a lottery office, published in the *Republic and Chronicle* a charge that John H. Sickles had been guilty of fraud and swindling in drawing the Medical Science Lottery. Baldwin was sued in 1818 for libel and was acquitted on the ground that he had simply stated facts.³⁰

In view of the disclosures made in the trial of Baldwin, a "Select Committee on Lotteries" was appointed from the Assembly. The committee on Lotteries conducted an investigation, which in the thoroughness with which it probed into heart secrets, might well be compared to "The Armstrong Committee on Insurance." The report was made on April 6, 1819, and, when published, comprised one hundred and forty-nine pages of printed matter.³¹

³⁰ Report of the Trial of Charles N. Baldwin," (N. Y. 1818).

³¹ "Report of the Select Committee on Lotteries," Albany, 1819.

In the course of the investigation the fact was brought to light that Sickles, although he held a position as manager, nevertheless became a secret contractor for large quantities of tickets. He was also found guilty of giving information as to what tickets might be insured with advantage. Another disclosure was of the fact that Sickles, while holding the position of manager in the Milford and Owego Lottery, had drawn a stationary prize of \$35,000 for Mr. Denniston, a legislative agent who had served the lotteries faithfully at Albany.

The report emphasized the fact that the most prominent and most extensive evil connected with lotteries was the insuring of tickets. In spite of the penalties imposed upon the insuring of tickets, insurance had been effected upon the faith of the contracting parties, and thus the law was violated regularly and with impunity. The extent to which insurance of tickets was carried on was almost incredible. The testimony brought out evidence that there were from fifty to sixty lottery offices in New York City, and that all had made considerable profits. The papers of the times, however, give the advertisements of only five or six lottery offices. One office alone received during the drawing of three classes of a lottery \$31,000 in premiums on insurance. The practice of insuring tickets developed to such an extent that agents were employed to solicit insurance on a commission of 12½%. Mr. Baldwin testified that the profits on insurance of tickets in one lottery alone in his office were \$11,000. Those who most frequently applied for insurance were women, children, apprentices, servants, negroes and in general the most indigent and ignorant people. It appeared from the testimony that numerous frauds were practiced upon lottery dealers in insuring tickets, but the fear of prosecution for conducting an illegal business deterred the dealers from making objections.

The committee registered their conviction as to the evils of the lottery system in these words:

“The foundation of the lottery system is so radically vicious, that your committee feel convinced, that under no system of regulation that can be devised, will it be possible for this Legislature to adopt it as an efficacious source of revenue, and at the same time divest it of all the evils of which it has hitherto proved so baneful a cause.” The report continued with the somewhat facetious remark:

“The only recommendation of the system of raising money by lottery, is the cheerfulness with which it is paid.”

A leading argument against lotteries advanced by the committee was the heavy losses to the state through the defalcation and failure of lottery managers. The losses were summarized as follows:⁸²

Failure of Philip Ten Eyck.....	\$ 41,059.78
Failure of Judah, and Judah & Lazarus.....	61,685.00
Failure of Stephen Thorne.....	6,400.21
<hr/>	
Total losses <i>ascertained</i>	\$109,144.99

The state constitution of 1820 contains a section which declares that no acts authorizing lotteries shall be passed by the legislature. The section reads as follows:

"No lottery shall hereafter be authorized in this state, and the legislature shall pass laws to prevent the sale of all lottery tickets within this state, except in lotteries provided for by law."

A. FRANKLIN ROSS.

NEW YORK CITY.

⁸² Report of the Select Committee, p. 28.

(To be continued.)



THE *SASSACUS* AND THE *ALBEMARLE*

THIS is a description of what I believe to be the first deliberate attempt to destroy an ironclad by running it down with a wooden ship.¹

(I do not attempt to describe the whole battle, but only the part taken by the *Sassacus*.)

On the fifth of May, 1864, the steamer *Sassacus*, one of several side wheelers, built for light draught, speed and easy handling, carrying four nine-inch Dahlgren guns and two hundred pounder Parrott rifled guns, while engaged, with several small vessels, with the iron-clad ram *Albemarle*, in Albemarle Sound, N. C., was, under the heroism of Lieutenant Commander F. A. Roe,² and with all possible speed, driven down upon the ram, striking full and square at the junction of its armored roof and deck.

It is somewhat shocking to one's faith in history, to note how events of interest are made or marred by purely fortuitous circumstance, and how chance or the bias of the historian determines the distribution of honor and renown. Events in the life of nations, as of men, attain importance, moreover, very much in proportion to their chance backgrounds or the state of the public mind at the time.

This was the second battle with the ram, and on the previous day General Grant began the forward movement which entailed the slaughter of the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, and on to the investment of Petersburg. Of course public attention was absorbed and with this foreground of flame, smoke and blood, all preceding events grew dim in the gray perspective of the past.

To appreciate the motive actuating this reminiscence, one must go back to the date when iron-clads first met—the *Monitor* and *Merrimac* encounter, in the gloomy days of March and April, 1862. In that famous engagement began my first experience, destined to be continued with iron-clads all through the war, in all the vicissitudes of storm and battle. No

¹ He is right. The battle of Lissa (see *Magazine* for Jan., 1906, p. 14) was in 1866.—Ed.

² Later Admiral, and since dead.—Ed.

one who was in that first eventful fight can ever forget the sensation experienced at the curling line of smoke over the Sewell's Point batteries, slowly moving across the brilliant noonday sky, nor the cry "*The Merrimac* is coming," as our drums beat to quarters, and the long roll mingled with the rattling of cables and the unlimbering of heavy guns. When the second day's battle was over, and indeed for days and weeks thereafter, as we surveyed the devastation and wreck of that famous engagement, the one absorbing topic on our ship—the *Minnesota*—was, how best to meet and destroy the formidable iron-clad. Gradually there grew the conviction that ramming was the most feasible.

But although Navy officers had talked themselves into the belief that a wooden ship could sink an iron-clad by its mere momentum, the feeling of others can be understood by an incident never before related, I think.

A captain of a large ocean steamer came aboard the flagship to report for orders. Clearly he had not been told the reason for bringing his vessel under the eye of the grim Commodore Goldsborough, a weather-beaten, dignified sailor, who had for years commanded, with none to question. He was told in few words what was expected of him: "Keep up all steam, and when the *Merrimac* comes out, run her down."

Staggered by the command and its tone, he said: "And this is what I came here for—to sink my ship on an iron-clad? If you and your crew are killed, Government will take care of the widows and orphans—but what is to become of mine?" The tone exasperated the Commodore. "D—n you, obey your orders!" "Never," he replied; "Run down the ram yourself, if you like. I return at once to New York"—and in an hour his ship was outside the Capes. This little episode was soon forgotten and in spite of the easily propounded theories of destroying the ram, it came out one day and coolly towed off several schooners while our ships made ready for an attack; but to try running it down in a channel where there was no chance to maneuver, would invite unpleasant results; and the chagrin of seeing our foe steam into the Elizabeth River with the prey, may be imagined.

The possibility of ramming probably was as unsettled in the minds of the *Merrimac's* officers as in our own; but without actual test, the belief that it could be done grew and became general in our navy.

The first fair, actual trial, therefore, in naval warfare, with a clean run of a swift ship, with open throttles and oil in the fires, a square, right-

angled collision at the weakest part of the armor, and a fight from 4:40 P. M. till 8, is entitled to its proper place in history.

And this the way it came about: April 17, 1864, Plymouth, N. C., was attacked by the Confederates on land and sea—the ram *Albemarle* menacing the three Union vessels, and sinking one, the *Southfield*—then May 5 she came down the river again, with two steamers full of troops. Our three gunboats, *Metatesset*, *Sassacus* and *Wyalusing* with the smaller vessels *Whitehead*, *Miami* and *Ceres*, steamed up to give battle. It was evident the enemy had small belief in the power of any wooden ship to run down the ram, for they advanced with the dauntless bearing of invincibility.

All eyes were fixed on this second *Merrimac*, as like a floating fortress it came down the bay, and, in imitation of the *Merrimac*, headed straight for the leading ship, the *Metatesset*, but by skillful management of the helm, the latter rounded its bows, closely followed by our own ship, the *Sassacus*, which at close quarters fired a broadside of solid nine-inch shot. The guns might as well have fired blank cartridges—for the shot skimmed off into the air, and even the hundred pound solid shot from the pivot rifle glanced from the sloping roof into space, with no apparent effect.

The feeling of helplessness that comes from the failure of heavy guns to make any mark on an advancing foe can never be adequately described. You are like a man with a bodkin before a gorgon or a dragon; a man with straws before the wheels of a Juggernaut.

To add to the feeling in this instance, the rapid firing from the different ships, the clouds of smoke, the changes of position to avoid being run down, the watchfulness to get a shot into ports of the *Albemarle*, as they quickly opened to deliver their well-directed fire, kept alive the constant danger of our ships firing into or entangling each other. The crash of bulwarks, and bursting of shells which were fired by the ram, but which were utterly useless to fire from our own guns, gave the confused sensation of a general and promiscuous *mêlée*, rather than a well-ordered attack. Yet, hopeless as it seemed, the plan was being carried out. Our own ship delivered her broadside and fired the pivot rifle with great rapidity, at roof and port and hull and smokestack, to find a weak spot. Now came the decisive moment—we had acquired a distance from the *Albemarle* of about four hundred yards and our foe, to evade the *Metatesset*, had sheered off a little, and lay broadside to us. The Union ships were now on both sides of the enemy, with engines stopped.

Commander Roe saw the opportunity, which delay would forfeit, and boldly met the crisis of the engagement. To the engineer he cried, "Crowd waste and oil in the fires, and back slowly!" To Acting Officer Boutelle,³ he said, "Lay her course for the junction of the casemate and the hull." Then came "four bells," and with full steam and open throttle the ship sprang forward like a living thing. It was a moment of intense strain and anxiety. The guns ceased firing, the smoke lifted and we saw that the ram was making every effort to evade the shock. Straight as an arrow we shot forward to the designated spot. Then came the order, "All hands lie down," and with a crash that shook the ship like an earthquake, we struck full and square on the iron hull, careening her over, and tearing away our own bows, ripping and straining our timbers at the water line. The enemy's lights were put out and his men hurled from their feet, and as we learned afterwards, thought for a moment it was all over with them. Our ship quivered for an instant, but held fast, and the swift splash of the paddles showed that the engines were uninjured. My own station was in the bow, on the main deck, on a line with the enemy's guns. Through the port shutter, which had been partly jarred off by the concussion, I saw the port of the ram not ten feet away. It opened, and like a flash of lightning I saw the grim muzzle of a cannon, the straining gun's crew naked to the waist and blackened with powder; then a blaze, a roar and rush of the shell as it crashed through, whirling me round and dashing me to the deck.

Both ships were under headway, and as the *Albemarle* advanced, our shattered bows, clinging to the iron casemate, were twisted round, and a second shot from a Brooks gun almost touching our side, crashed through, followed immediately by a cloud of steam and boiling water, that filled the forward decks, as our overcharged boilers, pierced by the shot, emptied their contents with a shrill scream that drowned for an instant the roar of the guns. Then the shouts of command and the cries of scalded, wounded and blinded men mingled with the rattle of small arms, told of a hand to hand conflict above.

The *Sassacus* surged heavily to port as the great weight of water in the boilers was expended, and over the cry "The ship is sinking!" came the shout, "Boarders away!" The men below, wild with the boiling steam, sprang to the ladder with pistol and cutlass, and gained the bulwarks; but men in the rigging, with muskets and hand grenades, and

³ Afterwards Representative Boutelle, of Maine.

the well-directed fire from the gun's crew, soon baffled the enemy's attempt to leave the ram to gain our decks; and it would have been madness to send our crew on the grated top of the iron-clad.

The horrid tumult always characteristic of battle, was intensified by the cries of agony from scalded and frantic men.

Wounds may rend and blood flow, yet grim heroism may keep teeth firm set in silence; but to be boiled alive—to have the flesh drop from the face and hands, to strip off in sodden mass from the body as clothing is torn away in savage eagerness for relief—will bring screams from the stoutest lips. In the midst of all this, and when all others had left the engine rooms, our chief engineer, Mr. Hobby, although badly scalded, stood with heroism at his post; nor left it until after the action, when he was brought up, blinded and helpless, to the deck.

I had often before been in battle; had stepped over the decks of a steamer in the *Merrimac* fight, when a shell had exploded, covering the deck with fragments of human bodies, literally tearing to pieces the men on the small vessel as she lay longside the *Minnesota*; but I never before experienced such sickening sensations of horror as when we lay for thirteen minutes on the roof of the *Albemarle*. An officer of the *Wyalusing* says that when the dense smoke and steam enveloped us, they thought we had sunk, till the flash of our guns burst through the clouds, followed by flash after flash in quick succession, as our men recovered from the shock of the explosion.

We were not the senior ship, and in the report of the battle, the time of our contact was said to be "a few minutes." Was there any use in belittling this heroic attempt to save the Nation's honor? There was time enough for the other ships, only three minutes away, to close in on the ram and sink her, or sink beside her, and it was thirteen minutes, as timed by an officer who held his watch in his hand, and told me with his own lips; but the other ships were silent, and with stopped engines looked on as the clouds closed over us in the grim and final struggle. Captain French of the *Miami*, who had bravely fought his ship at close quarters, and often at the ship's length, vainly tried to get bows on, to come to our assistance and use his torpedo; but his ship steered badly, and he was unable to reach us before we dropped away.

In the meantime the *Wyalusing* signaled that she was sinking—a mistake, but one which materially affected the outcome of the battle.

The naval report further says: "After remaining in contact some few minutes she (the *Sassacus*) disengaged herself, and soon afterward was seen to be enveloped in steam."

Soon afterward! It is late justice, now so many years after, to give the true story of this battle, but it is full time that the heroism of Commander Roe received recognition. During those thirteen minutes he held the unequal fight with a coolness and bravery to which our Companion George DeForest Barton can testify—for he stood by his side, acting as signal officer, and was honorably mentioned in his report. We had struck exactly at the spot aimed for; and contrary to the Naval Report diagram for that year, the headway of both vessels (our engines running on a vacuum) twisted our bows and brought us broadside to broadside—our bows at his stern and our starboard paddle-wheels on the forward starboard angle of his casemate.

To this, as against the report, I not only attest from my own observation, but have the written statement of Navigator Boutelle.

We drifted off the *Albemarle* and our pivot gun, which had been fired incessantly by Ensign Mayer, almost muzzle to muzzle with the enemy's guns, was kept at work till we were out of range. The other ships were then got in line and fired at the enemy, also attempting to lay the seine so as to foul his propeller—a task as impracticable as that of injuring him by the fire of the guns; for while we were alongside our nine-inch Dahlgren guns had been depressed until the shot would strike at right angles, and the solid iron would rebound from the roof like marbles and with as little impression. Fragments even of our hundred-pound rifle shot at close range, came back on our own decks. The fight was practically over when our boilers burst, and at dusk the *Albemarle* steamed into the Roanoke River.

I said that the historical importance of this event has been overshadowed by the long-looked for movements of the great armies of the Republic, and dwelt on the effect of this purely fortuitous coincidence. The one circumstance which would have blazoned the heroism of Commander Roe, in spite of this, was the failure of the other ships to help him, during the long thirteen minutes that the *Sassacus* lay over the ports of the *Albemarle*. Yet none can believe that there was lack of courage on the part of the other ships. The loss of the *Southfield*, the signal from the *Wyalusing* that she was sinking, the apparent loss of our ship, and the

(chance of) the loss of (control) of the North Carolina Sounds, if more were disabled, dictated the prudent course they adopted. But of the official reports which belittled the achievement of Commander Roe, and have placed an erroneous record on the page of history, I cannot speak so leniently.

But what avails it to you, as a soldier, to dash over the parapet and seize the colors of the enemy, if your regiment halts outside the *chevaux de frise*? It was this we did, and we have always felt that a similar blow on the other side, or a close environment of the heavy guns of the other ships, could have captured or sunk the *Albemarle*. The ram retired, never again to emerge from the Roanoke River for battle, and the object of his coming on the day of our engagement, viz.: to aid the enemy in an attack on New Bern, was defeated; but his ultimate and complete destruction was reserved for Lieutenant William B. Cushing, of glorious memory.

EDGAR HOLDEN, M. D.,
Late U. S. N.

Read before the New York Loyal Legion.

UNPUBLISHED POEM BY JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE ¹

*"Lines addressed to the Defenders of New Orleans the day before the
Battle of the 8th of January, 1815. By Dr. J. R. Drake."*

HAIL! Sons of gen'rous Valour!
Who now embattled stand,
To wield the brand of strife and blood,
For Freedom and the Land:
And hail to him your laurel'd Chief!
Around whose trophied name
A nation's gratitude has twin'd
The wreath of deathless Fame.

Now round that gallant leader
Your iron phalanx form;
And throw, like Ocean's barrier rocks
Your bosoms to the storm—
Though wild as Ocean's waves it rolls
Its fury shall be low—
For Justice guides the warrior's steel,
And Vengeance strikes the blow.

High o'er the gleaming columns
The bannered Star appears:
And proud, amid the martial band
His crest the Eagle rears—
As long as Patriot Valour's arm
Shall win the Battle prize
That Star shall beam triumphantly—
That Eagle seek the skies.

¹ Drake's manuscripts are very rare, as he died at the age of 25, and on his death-bed he is said to have asked his wife to burn everything she could find.

This is also unusual in that it has the "Dr." in his own writing. The poem formed part of the collection of Mr. John D. Crimmins, sold by the Anderson Auction Co., of New York, recently.

THE MORAVIANS AT ONONDAGA, N. Y.

THE Moravian visits to what is now Central New York form an interesting episode in Colonial life, almost as picturesque as that recorded in the familiar Jesuit *Relations*. The narratives have the same advantage, that of being the daily records of savage or forest life, written by men imbued with intense religious feeling and unselfish love. As history they stand nearly a century apart. The Moravians, however, built no chapels, preached no sermons, baptized no converts here. For some reason their work at Onondaga was merely that of preparation. In both cases the journals have a varying personal interest, being the work of various writers. Some are full and discursive; others are brief statements of daily events.

Count Zinzendorf's encounter with the Iroquois chiefs in Pennsylvania, and his curious account of the Five Nations need not be detailed here, but as this paper deals with the Onondagas an exception may be made of them. He said: "The 2d Nation, and which properly governs the rest, is the Nation of the Onondagoes. These are Philosophers and such as among us are called Deists. They are brave, honest People, who keep their word; and their general weakness is that they delight in Heroick Deeds; and this will be the main Difficulty in the way of their Conversion, to make them forget these their heroick Notions; for they have the Principles of the old Romans, that they look upon everyone as a miserable Creature, scarce worth a thought, who will not submit himself to them. Their Government is very equitable and fatherlike, but whoever will not stoop to them they are ready to root out that Nation from among the Indians."

Count Zinzendorf's first meeting with the Iroquois resulted in an invitation to visit Onondaga, with the usual string of wampum to be brought back by the visitors. It may have been the lack of this that caused Pyrlæus to be turned back in 1743. The Iroquois were punctilious, and he bore no wampum of any kind.

This missionary, with his wife, reached the Indian town of Canojoharie, July 17, 1743. This was some miles west of the present town

of that name. They remained there till August, and then went to Shecomeko, where his wife remained. Returning to the Mohawk towns he started for Onondaga, but when he reached the last white man's house a chief told him he could go no farther.

The Mohawks kept the "eastern door" of the Long House, and in 1745 two more Moravians tried to reach the great council fire through them. These were Zeisberger and Post, both famous afterward in Colonial annals as missionaries, pioneers and servants of the public. They easily passed Fort Williams, as Fort Hunter was sometimes called, for some unknown reason.¹ Thence they went to the Indian town of Canojoharie, where King Hendrick lived. This time Colonial officers were sent after them and rudely brought them back. For some weeks they lay in prison, being released just in time for Zeisberger to join Bishop Spangenberg and John Joseph Schebosch in their direct journey to Onondaga, in the summer of 1745. Like the French missionaries a century before, the Moravians now disregarded the ceremonial approach, and went straight to the great council fire. This time they carried wampum, and prospered.

Circumstances favored them. Pennsylvania was sending Conrad Weiser on a diplomatic mission, and three Moravians were allowed to go with him. He bore wampum belts, and they the fathom given to Zinzendorf some years before. The party set forth on horseback, following the path which had been opened between Philadelphia and Onondaga, already often trod in the interests of peace, but quite as often, in part, by Iroquois braves going to the southern wars.

This route had difficulties by land and water, yet it was well known to the principal guide, Shikellimy, the father of the celebrated Logan. He was an Oneida chief, the Iroquois viceroy in Pennsylvania, but having married a Cayuga woman all his sons were of that nation. One of these was of the party. Andrew Sattelihi, son of the famous Madame Montour, was another, and was a prominent man at a later day. With long days and fair weather the party of seven went prosperously on. The narrative is simple. They found deserted war camps, hunted and fished, examined curious wild plants, followed streams and climbed hills.

One peculiarity of the Iroquois tongue is that it has no labials. So, being utterly unable to speak their names, the Indians quietly gave them new ones. It was a common occurrence, attended with much ceremony

¹ See Mack's journal of 1752, and Col. Woodhull's journal of 1760.

when circumstances permitted, but quite as often a mere announcement.² Spangenberg became T'gerhitonti, *a row of trees*; Schebosch, Hajingonis, *one who twists tobacco*; and Zeisberger, Ganousseracheri, or *the pumpkin*.

After crossing the mountains the party followed the Susquehanna to Owego, then up that creek to another, thence over the hills to what is now Cortland County, where small lakes appeared. They passed one of these, called Ganneratareske, now Big Lake in Preble, quite near a legendary mountain. Thence they went and camped at another, called Oserigooch, now the largest lake of the Tully group and a summer resort. Stray horses detained them for a time, and some years later Zeisberger found the name which Spangenberg cut there on a tree while waiting. He used his knife thus at other times, for a Moravian has human traits. In fact the Moravians had a genius for names. Wherever they stopped they left some curious title, often founded on some trivial incident. From this lake a broad way led through the valley, direct to Onondaga, while another path diverged to Tueyahdasso, a small village four miles from the larger town. They took the direct course, were welcomed at Onondaga, and were lodged in the King's house. While there Spangenberg and Conrad Weiser visited Oswego, but the Moravians had no business to transact, and Weiser's ample journal says nothing of their presence. They were not merely polite, however. Many Indians applied for medicine, and many were bled, something of which they were very fond.

On their return they passed through Tueyahdasso, a village of which John Bartram gave an account two years before, and where Weiser stopped in 1737. The spot is now called Indian Orchard, and a few small wild apple trees remain. Here Weiser and Sattelihi took the left hand path, going south; the Moravians went to the right, and passing Oserigooch at some distance, retraced the path by which they came.

In the summer of 1749 some Iroquois chiefs were at Philadelphia, and three Seneca chiefs held a conference with the Moravians, giving the name of Tecarihondie, *one who brings important news*, to Bishop von Watteville, and an invitation to their towns. This was accepted the following year, when David Zeisberger and Bishop Cammerhoff set off again to Onondaga by a new route, and for most of the way the description is the earliest we have. With a Cayuga guide they ascended the Susquehanna river in a canoe to Tioga, and then up the Chemung as

² I received my Onondaga name in full form. The late Bishop Huntington's was briefly announced in church. In this case all was as simply done, but the recipients were always known by these names afterward.

far as Waverly, where they stopped awhile at the Cayuga village of Ganatocherat, on the east side of the river. On the west side a small village of Tutelos had grown up, and the name still remains. Walking over to the Susquehanna they found the path which Spangenberg and Zeisberger had followed five years before.

Cammerhoff's journal is ample, and his daily dates are in both new and old styles. His Indian name was Gallichwio, *good news*; he loved to tell of his feelings, and at times his self-complacency is quite amusing. Yet through this we get some glimpses of the distinction in Indian social life. Thus at Ganatocherat, their host said: "We must be important people to know the great chiefs of the Five Nations." They had merely spoken of three Seneca chiefs, but this remark unloosed their tongues, and they told of the Onondaga chiefs whom they knew, "subjects of great interest to him. It is a certain thing that great men enjoy more respect and authority among the Indians than is ordinarily supposed. They look upon an acquaintance with them as a great honor."

At last they left this hospitable town, on horseback, and their journey to Cayuga may be summarized now, leaving details for a possible later paper on the Moravians in the Cayuga and Seneca towns. Leaving the present site of Waverly they followed one of the valleys leading northward and passed Cayuta Lake, here called Ganiatarenge. There is a graphic account of the whole path from the Chemung river to Cayuga Lake. The hills were high and the gloom of the forest intense. At the head of the lake a broad savanna rejoiced their eyes, bounded by broad, blue waters beyond. A small cave on the west side was inhabited, and was called Onachsoe. Farther north, on each side, familiar streams had now-forgotten names. The party plodded on, reckoning each mile as two, as was Cammerhoff's custom, and at last came to the Cayuga town nearest the shore of the lake. So well received were they, and so noble seemed the people, that Cammerhoff said he could enjoy six months on the spot. But Onondaga was their destination, and after passing through another Cayuga town, they were once more on their way through the wilderness.

They called this wilderness, they said, "the Salt Desert, because of the many salt marches and salt springs we found there." Part of this, certainly, was a flight of fancy. At Lake Achsgo or Owasco they met Indians and smoked a pipe with them. Then they came to Lake Sganiatarees or Skaneateles. The trail eastward to Onondaga was nearly that

of the electric road as far as Nine Mile Creek. At that stream, then called Tistis, they camped for the night. The trees were adorned with stories of war parties, and crosses showed that they were made by Canadian Indians. This suggested the name of the "French Camp," by which they afterward knew the spot. Why they called the high ridge east of this the "First Prince's Peak" does not appear, but they crossed this to another deep valley now called Cedarvale. A longer Prince's Peak was traversed, and they were at Onondaga.

Though words failed him, Cammerhoff must here speak for himself. "I cannot discribe my feelings at the sight of Onondago, and I prayed earnestly for the Lord's guidance. As we descended the mountain the Gajuka asked us where we would lodge." Cammerhoff did not choose a back seat: "We directed him to lead us to Ganassateco; this astonished him greatly, and he could not understand how we should want to go to such a man first of all." They reached the house. "There is a large pole before it, with an English flag on it. The house is very large and roomy, and well built." The chief was at the council, but word was sent to him. "In the meantime the house was being swept, and after an apartment had been prepared for us, we were invited into it, and the one side which was covered with beautiful mats was assigned to us. It was large enough for six Brethren to have lodged there comfortably, and was on the same side of the house as Ganassateco's own apartment."

They were called to the council and warmly received. "Not one in the whole Council gave us a grim or suspicious look, but all were cordial and brotherly, and acted as if we were old friends and men to be trusted. . . . Many old men, some very venerable in appearance, who saw us for the first time, smiled to us very kindly."

An old Oneida had a message from the Nanticokes, which he sang in a very high tenor voice for over half an hour. Then he presented their belts, Cammerhoff complacently observing: "The belts were only white, and very poor compared to ours."

The Moravians were not then scrupulous observers of Sunday. In fact Zinzendorf preferred Saturday as a holy day, but these missionaries traveled, hunted, fished or did anything they pleased on either day. The first Saturday at Onondaga, however, they observed as a day of rest. The town was now on the west side of Onondaga creek, changes having come, and Cammerhoff said: "In the afternoon David and I crossed the creek Zinschoe, and passed through the rich cornfields, going up the creek to the house where Br. Joseph [Spangenberg] had lodged with his

company when he was here. At that time there were a number of huts, of which we could still distinguish the sites and ruins, but only two houses remained standing." They found a pleasant spot by the creek, prayed and celebrated the Holy Communion, naming the place the "Brethren's Chapel in Onondaga." Next day they attended the council and presented their belts.

Business moved slowly, Indians considering it unwise to be in haste, and so, after five days' sojourn, the Moravians started for the Seneca country, having a thrilling experience, which will not be related now. Two episodes only on the way to Cayuga will be mentioned. The night of June 24th they slept in a bark hut they made at the foot of Skaneateles Lake. "To-day was St. John's Day, so we named our quarters 'The Pilgrims' Hut at St. John's Beach.' . . . We spent the evening in singing hymns together, and then slept well." They always afterward called the place St. John's Beach, stopping there often.

After noon, the next day, they were at Owasco Lake, lunching by a spring which still exists, though covered up. They were without horses now, and had some difficulty in crossing the outlets of both lakes. All these localities are mentioned on their return from the Genesee country and the Senecas.

They reached Onondaga again July 10th, having been gone over two weeks. Both were weary and half starved, for though Zeisberger had hunted and fished diligently, they could get little other food. "We were almost famished, and although we ate frequently through the day, we could scarcely satisfy our appetites"; so they told the cause of their "dreadful hunger."

At last came the answer to their simple requests: Two Moravians might dwell there till they had mastered the Onondaga or any other dialect they chose—and this was all they ever attempted. Zeisberger was the interpreter and presented the belts. These were accepted. "Thereupon they ended the meeting by the usual cries, common to the close of the council, and we were both obliged to repeat them also." The Moravians then took up their packs for the homeward journey, astonishing the young Indians who looked on. "When they saw that David's pack was very large and mine was small, several of them said that Ganousseracheri had so much to carry, and Gallichwio had only a small bundle. Then Ganassateco said that I was a great man, not accustomed to carry heavy bundles." The chief accompanied them out of the town,

and both he and Cammerhoff died soon after. The Moravian was pathetic to the last. "Our feelings on leaving Onondago we can hardly describe. We actually felt some regret." They retraced their steps, leaving Onondaga July 20th, and reaching Bethlehem, August 16, 1750.

The Moravians had promised to visit Onondaga again in two years' time, and asked permission from Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, to do so, for men could not freely go into the Indian territory. Hamilton at first demurred, for some evil stories were afloat about Ganassateco's sudden death a few days after the last visit. He was soon satisfied, and passports were given to J. Martin Mack, David Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt. The former was to go with them, but not remain, as the permission to do this applied to but two. They left Bethlehem July 26, 1752, reaching Albany August 5th. They departed thence August 11th, and Mack said, the next day: "We came this afternoon to William's Fort [Fort Hunter], a Maqua town, where many Indians live, who were baptized by a minister of the Church of England, by name Ogilby. We found but few at home. Conrad Weiser's son resided here last summer to learn the language."

Three days later they reached the Indian town of Canojoharie, where Zeisberger and Post were arrested seven years before. "Very few Indians were to be seen," said Mack, "but we learned subsequently that they were in the castle (which was built during the last war) half a mile from the town." This was the home of King Hendrick and Joseph Brant. That afternoon they passed Little Falls, and soon met about one hundred Oneidas and Cayugas, who were there digging ginseng. Before noon, August 16th, they were at the last white man's house on the river, and many Indians were there, who questioned them sharply. Others soon came, and prevented their farther advance that day. Their German host thought they would have to return.

Next day Zeisberger spoke before the Oneidas and Tuscaroras present, and showed his strings of wampum. After an hour's discussion the chiefs approved of their going to Onondaga, and aided them in this, greatly to their host's surprise. Ten chiefs gave them their names, which are in Mack's journal.

Passing Anajot or Oneida, August 18th, they came to the Tuscarora towns, which lay between there and Onondaga. The first of these, Ganatisgoa, had nearly thirty large and well-built houses on either side

of a wide street. There they lodged that night. Next day they passed through a Tuscarora hamlet and town. A Seneca chief, who was with them, pointed out a place next day, near Butternut Creek, where many posts were still standing. He told Zeisberger "that when he was a child of eight years of age, Onondaga stood on this spot, but was [1696] burned by the French." Before five o'clock they were at Onondaga. This was on Sunday.

On Wednesday, August 23d, they met the council. Over thirty Indians were present, all Onondagas except one Cayuga and four Senecas. The Cayuga chief spoke for the Moravians, prompted by Zeisberger, as the latter knew that language best. "He sang, in the Indian manner, the names of all our Brethren, mentioning, at the same time, Bro. Johanan [Count Zinzendorf] as a great and mighty man." He spoke on three strings of wampum, and then the Moravian presents were made. These were favorably received and the desired answer obtained.

Rundt received the name of Thaneraquehta, and Mack was already called by the Cayugas Ganachgagregat, *one who heads a troop*. Next day they were visited by Onondagas from Tueyahdasso, five miles away, and by the chiefs of the lower Onondaga town. On Friday Mack started to return, accompanied part way by his brethren. August 26th they reached the first Tuscarora town, Ganochseráge [Canaseraga], where they were hospitably entertained. Several houses were passed before they reached Ganatisgoa, two hours before dark. At night they were near Oneida, but camped outside the town.

The Sunday morning's journal is pathetic. "We arose early and sang some verses. After passing through Anajot we came to a hill about a quarter of a mile beyond, where we rested. Here we must part. We sang some verses, wept like children, and blessed one another—so we parted." Mack went homeward and they returned to Onondaga, calling on the way at Ganatisgoa and Ganochseráge.

Otschinachiatha, well known as the Bunt, now became their influential friend. Just before the Revolution he retired from office on account of age, but was still living and active after the war began. He called a council to see with whom the Moravians should live. They were assigned to the care of Ganatschiagaje, a chief of upper Onondaga. All houses would be open to them, and councils would be held at their lodg-

ings that they might learn state etiquette. Many details follow in their journal.

Now they made themselves at home, making their quarters more comfortable, for David was a carpenter, digging and selling ginseng like the Indians, observing French and Dutch traders, escaping drunken Indians, visiting the Onondagas in their homes, and learning the language as best they could. At one time the Indian women threw dice in their house in distributing the effects of a deceased friend. At another they gathered, morning and evening, weeping and moaning for one who had died. Parties of warriors went to the southern wars, and there was constant intercourse with Canada. Altogether Onondaga was a lively place. They visited Tueyahdasso also, and went to the lake to boil salt in a primitive way. The Indians had now learned to use it.

October 16th they heard that Johnson's boat and agent had arrived at the lake. They went there and found nearly the whole town encamped on the shore. Two Englishmen were there, and the usual speeches were made. "The trading began. The people rushed with such great eagerness that they nearly tore down the tent." It was a bargain day.

Early in November Zeisberger went to Oswego Falls for supplies, but finding few there, he went on to Oswego. The practice then was to unload boats at the falls, and carry goods thence to Oswego by land. Another journey was in contemplation. Zeisberger was not satisfied with the progress he was making at Onondaga, and had pleasant memories of Cayuga. He now determined to spend the winter there. With this plan Otschinachiatha "was not at all pleased, and said we did wrong not to remain here and learn their language perfectly. He asked why we wanted to mix our language and not learn any thoroughly?" Zeisberger's Onondaga lexicon proves the old chief's wisdom.

However, on November 6th they started for Cayuga, where they were well received by the chiefs, but maltreated by a trader, and November 11th found them at Onondaga again. That place they left November 25th, following the trail over the eastern hill. They wrote: "On the top of a hill near Onondaga we kneeled down, and thanked God for His gracious help thus far, and invoked blessings on Onondaga and its inhabitants, and prayed that the peace of God might rest upon them, and that He would reward them richly for all their kindness toward us, and

not remember any of their evil deeds." Those who have stood on this commanding spot can easily imagine the scene.

On the return two new Tuscarora towns appeared: Tiochrungwe, *in the valley*, and Tiachsachratota, perhaps an early form of Canastota. Ganatisgoa also drops the suffix Goa or *great*, and becomes Sganatees. At Oneida everywhere was heard the salutation, "Welcome, Brethren!" and all were "astonished at the great progress which David had made in the Onondaga language." They reached Bethlehem December 15, 1752.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

(*To be continued*)



AN OLD LATIN LIFE OF WASHINGTON

WHEN a mere schoolboy I found a copy of this book in my father's library, and a little later won it for my own as a reward of merit for having read six books of Cæsar by myself in the summer vacation. On the fly leaf the original owner's name is written as James, and on another, evidently in a burst of classical enthusiasm, as *Jacobus* Shields.

The first sixteen pages are taken up with an editor's preface in English, of which more will be said hereafter, and then comes the title-page of the work proper:

GEORGII WASHINGTONII,
Americæ Septentrionalis Civitatum Fœderatarum
PRÆSIDIS PRIMI,
VITA,
FRANCISCO GLASS, A.M.,
OHIOENSI,
LITTERIS LATINIS CONSCRIPTA.

"Longè trans Oceanum, si Libris Sybillinis credamus, patebit post multa sæcula tellus ingens atque opulenta, et in eâ exorietur vir fortis ac sapiens, qui patriam servitute oppressam consilio et armis liberabit, remque publicam, nostræ et origine ceterâque historiâ simillimam, felicibus auspiciis condet, Bruto et Camillo, Di boni! multum et merito antefendus. Quod nostrum illum non fugit Accium, qui, in Nyctegresîâ suâ, vetus hoc oraculum numeris poeticis adornavit."—Ciceronis fragm. xv. ed. Maii, p. 52.

NEO-EBORACOPOLI:
TYPIS FRATRUM HARPERORUM.
Venalis prostat apud Omnes Bibliopolas.

OHIO, &C., MDCCCXXXVI.

Which may be rendered into the American language (English would never do in a work so patriotic) as follows: "A Life of George Washington, first President of the United States of North America, written in Latin by Francis Glass, A. M." A feature of the style which must be noticed is the attempt to express modern ideas in a language long dead. In the matter of proper names, absolute uniformity, of course, is impossible, as those know who have had to Latinize the names of students for insertion in a college diploma. Such as admit readily a classic termination receive it—*e. g.*, Washingtonius, Adamius, Arnoldius, Warrenius, and even Pitcairnius, Hancockius, and Sullivanus. Citizen Genet appears as Genetius, and in like manner are formed Fanchetius and Adetius. The people of New England are *Novangli*, and the British court is *Aula Sancti Jacobi*. The Quakers are translated into *Tremebundi*. An expression that strikes one with almost comical force is that in which Washington is said to have married *viduam gaudentem nomine Custis*. Side by side with these Latinized names are others which proved too much for the author's ingenuity, and so are set down in all their Saxon nakedness. Such are Dinwiddie, Montgomery (occasionally Montgomerius), Lee, Greene, Pinckney, Howe, Clinton (why not Clintonius?), Gage, and Burgoyne. From Jay is made the adjective *Jayianus*, and we read of the *Fædus Jayianum*. The military titles General, Colonel, and Lieutenant are given as *Dux*, *Tribunus*, and *Legatus*, producing such combinations as *Dux Howe*, *Dux Greene*, *Dux Burgoyne*, *Tribunus Bird*, *Tribunus Magaw*, and *Legatus Pitcairnius*. We meet *Comes Cornwallis* and *Gubernator Dinwiddie* of Virginia, and Mr. Jay is *Dominus Jay*. Just a glance at a few phrases: Artillery is represented by *tormenta*, firearms by *arma ignivoma*, bullet by *glans plumbea*. The word for regiment is *legio*. Washington at the beginning of his career was *ensor terræ*, and in the end was carried off by *gula inflammatio*. A phrase of frequent occurrence is *in majus promovere*, meaning to advance or promote some interest. Many other examples might be given, but these will suffice to show something of the manner of expression used by our Western Livy.

The whole work is divided into twenty-two chapters, the first telling of the hero's ancestry, birth, and early career up to the time of Braddock's defeat (*cædes Braddockiana*), and the twenty-first of his death and character; while the last is rather an addendum giving anecdotes and incidents which had found no place in the regular course of the history. Naturally, the order in general is chronological, and all the most important events are narrated. After a brief account of the causes which

had led to the settlement of New England, the immediate causes of the Revolutionary war are stated, and we pass to Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill. The last-named battle may be quoted in part as an illustration of our author's treatment of military affairs:

Toward the end of May the King's forces approached Boston in great numbers, under command of Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, all distinguished leaders. Not far from Boston is a hill, Bunker by name, which a band of the colonists took on the 16th of June, and began to fortify; and with such diligence did they bend to the work that before dawn the camp was almost surrounded by a breastwork. When they saw this the King's forces attempted by means of a constant attack of artillery (*tormenta majora*), and all kinds of firearms (*arma ignivoma*) to level the works to the ground, and dislodge the defenders. The colonists, however, did not cease from their labors, and about noon had finished all the fortifications; which boldness on the part of the Americans so enraged the English leaders that they landed a regiment (*legio*) of infantry at the foot of Bunker Hill. The King's soldiers marched up the hill with the greatest gallantry, but as they neared the American position such a shower of balls (*glandium plumbeorum imber*) was poured into them that for half an hour they fell in a steady stream (*torrentis ritu*). So endless was the slaughter that veteran soldiers admitted they never had seen heavier carnage. Gen. Howe, whose valor shone most brilliantly in this battle, remained for a while almost alone, having lost the most of his officers and men by death or wounds. But at length, as fresh troops kept coming up, the Americans were forced to retire. . . . In this battle a heavier loss was suffered in proportion than in any other in the course of the whole war. On the side of the British a thousand men (*homines*) fell; of the Americans five hundred heroes (*viri*) died that day, among them Warren, a distinguished physician, eloquent orator, and devoted patriot, who never ceased to arouse his countrymen against the unjust tyranny of the English.

The history of the war ends in chapter xiv., and into the next five chapters are compressed the events of Washington's two terms as President, beginning with his resignation as general of the army, and closing with his farewell address to the people of the United States.

Of the chapter containing an estimate of Washington's character and achievements we may notice only a few representative passages. He is said to have been "an affectionate husband, sincere friend, kindly master, ready to aid the poor." With his customary enthusiasm, our author exclaims, "Never has the world seen another such man, nor can it ever, unless I am much in error, behold one like him again!" Later he declares: "I cannot compare our hero with all the great men of antiquity, for comparison is impossible except among equals, and I consider

Washington greater than all the great men who flourished among the ancients." Another passage a few lines further on is worth taking in connection with the author's own commentary: "The genius of Washington did not differ much from the genius of Aristotle, of Bacon (a most learned Englishman), and of the most illustrious Newton." Then follows this note: "By these we intend to convey the idea that the parts of Washington were better adapted to the investigation of sober truth than to display a flippant and superficial learning like Voltaire and his self-styled philosophers."

This old book, interesting in itself, is rendered doubly so by the circumstances of its composition. After a thorough training in the classics, the author became a teacher. His editor, J. N. Reynolds, says of him in his preface: "While acting as an instructor in the interior of Pennsylvania, he contracted an unfortunate marriage, in a state, as he said, of partial insanity; no wonder he thought so when he found himself surrounded by evils which his imprudence had brought upon him . . . he somewhere in the year 1817 or 1818 left Pennsylvania for the West and settled in Miami County, Ohio." Western Ohio at that time was little more than a wilderness. There were no railroads, and no good wagon roads. Cincinnati, the metropolis of the West, had less than 10,000 inhabitants in 1820, and Dayton, where this book was written, had less than 2,000. For some years Glass taught in a country school, and those of us who have had a similar experience can sympathize to a greater or less extent with Mr. Reynolds' remark that "Of all honest callings in this world, the most difficult is that of an instructor who has to chastise idle boys and to satisfy ignorant parents." The schoolhouse is described as follows:

It stood on the banks of a small stream, in a thick grove of native oaks, resembling more a den for Druidical rites than a temple of learning. The building was a low log cabin with a clapboard roof, but indifferently tight; all the light of heaven found in this cabin came through apertures made on each side in the logs, and these were covered with oiled paper to keep out the cold air while they admitted the dim rays. The seats or benches were of hewn timbers, resting on upright posts placed in the ground to keep them from being overturned by the mischievous urchins who sat on them. In the centre was a large stove, between which and the back part of the building stood a small desk without lock or key, made of rough plank over which a plane had never passed. There might have been forty scholars present, twenty-five of these engaged in spelling, reading, and writing, a few in arithmetic, a small class in English grammar; and a half-dozen had joined his school for the benefit of his instruction in the Greek and Latin languages.

Amid such surroundings the unfortunate scholar cherished his plan of perpetuating the praises of Washington, serving the interests of the American youth and of classical learning, and immortalizing his own name, by composing this biography. For years the undertaking was delayed, but at last the generosity of a former student enabled him to remove to Dayton, where the whole work was written in the winter 1823-1824. The manuscript was delivered to the same pupil, but for twelve years he was unable to have it printed, and in the meantime he lost sight of the author. When at last the book had issued from the press of the young firm of the Harper Brothers, Glass was dead and his family had disappeared. So it happened that he never witnessed the realization of his ambition. One may imagine, perhaps, the suspense of those last years, his thoughts ever on the *magnum opus* which was to bring him fame, his emotions alternating between eager expectation and blank despair as each day saw his hopes again deferred. "Poor Glass!" says his pupil. "Had he only been spared to learn that his work had been examined by some of the ripest scholars of our country—men whose names are but other terms for all that is pure and chaste and elegant in classical literature—how it would have consoled and softened the last gloomy hours of his existence!" And it was in the same spirit of kindly remembrance and appreciation that he placed on the English title-page this quotation from an old play:

I bring another's offering, for the tomb
Contains within its dreary charnel-house
The guide of earlier days, who often led
My boyish footsteps to the Muses' shrine:
And I must now tell others of the friend
Whose voice is mute in death.

NOTE.—This work was reviewed with especial reference to its Latinity in the *North American Review* (vol. 43). A reply was made in the *Knickerbocker*, and a rejoinder to this in vol. 44 of the *North American Review*. It was also noticed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* and several other magazines, besides many newspapers.

HUGH M. KINGERY.

LAST BLAZES ON THE OREGON TRAIL

ORIGINALLY blazed, for a portion of the way, by De la Verendrye, in 1742; trodden a distance by Lewis and Clark as they pushed across the vast trans-Mississippi empire; worn by the trappers and adventurers of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, such men as Ezekiel Williams, Gen. Ashley, "Jim" Bridger, Campbell, Fitzpatrick, Sublette, and Wilson Price Hunt, and made into a hard and smooth highway by the hardy Missourians rushing across the continent in search of gold, by the Mormons seeking a new land of liberty, and by countless soldiers of fortune, the famous Oregon trail has at last been rescued from oblivion and marked with stone monuments, thanks largely to the work of one man, Ezra Meeker.

Starting from his home in Puyallup, Wash., on January 29, 1906, Mr. Meeker retraced his march of fifty-four years before, back along the Oregon trail to its Eastern terminus, at Independence, on the Missouri River, then across Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois to his Indiana home. As he journeyed, he interested the people along the route in the importance of saving the Oregon trail from oblivion. Their fathers and grandfathers had helped to make it, but the past was in a fair way to be forgotten. The line of a great transcontinental railroad parallels or covers the old Oregon trail for much of its way to-day, but there were detours and stages to be marked before they were lost sight of entirely.

So this old trail, which was one the great roadways of the nation a century and a half-century ago, has become known better than ever to the present generation. Between Puyallup and Omaha nineteen monuments have been erected. Ezra Meeker, after a year's travel, reached his Indiana home. His journey and his work ended. Not so the interest in the old trail, especially as it follows the marking of another old trail, the Santa Fé, through Kansas.

Before tracing the Oregon trail across the country from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean and counting over those who wore it smooth, it might be well to summarize briefly Mr. Meeker's work in marking it.

After he left his Washington home, more than 25,000 people con-

In the *MAGAZINE* for April, 1906, we printed an article on "Re-marking Western Trails." It is extremely gratifying to every historian that Mr. Meeker's original and patriotic idea there described has been carried out successfully, and it is obvious that on some one of the numerous monuments erected along the Trail, his name should be commemorated for future generations.—Ed.

tributed to the erection of Oregon trail monuments. At regular intervals along the route, Mr. Meeker, with the aid of people for whom he and others blazed the way, erected monuments—a huge stone boulder here, a cairn of stones there, a signboard or post in another place. In Baker City, Oregon, the monument was erected by contributions received from 800 school-children, all of whom were present when it was dedicated. At Boise, Idaho, Mr. Meeker camped for several days beside the post office. He spoke to the public school-children of his object, and 1,200 contributed to purchase the granite monument, which will mark the place where the old-timers passed through what is now a thriving city. The governor of the State and other State officers insisted that the monument be erected on the State House yard, and it was, in the presence of more than 3,000 people.

To erect a monument at the summit of South Pass, Mr. Meeker traveled eighty-four miles from a post office, and twenty-four persons who reside in the neighborhood were the only witnesses of the event. The monument stands on the irrigation survey near Sweetwater, and is 7,540 feet above sea level, one of the highest of such landmarks in the country.

In most of the towns and places where monuments were erected, Mr. Meeker stayed to see the work done, but in some instances he turned the matter over to a local committee appointed for that purpose.

The Oregon trail began, as did the Santa Fé trail, leading to the Southwest, at the town of Independence, on the Missouri River. Practically, St. Louis was the eastern terminus, men and goods going up the Missouri River to Independence, and there taking wagon and setting out either for the Northwest or the Southwest.

The two trails were the same for forty-one miles, when, as the historian Chittenden remarks, a simple signboard was seen which carried the words, "Road to Oregon." That signboard to-day, with its lack of ostentation and its epigrammatic clearness, would be worth more than its proverbial weight in gold to any State historical society.

There were branch trails that came into the road from Leavenworth and St. Joseph, striking it above the point of departure from the Santa Fé trail; but the Oregon trail proper swung off from this fork, running steadily to the northwest, part of the time along the Little Blue River, until at length it struck the valley of the Platte, so essential to its welfare. The distance from Independence to the Platte was 316 miles, the trail reaching

the Platte about twenty miles below the head of Grand Island. The course then lay up the Platte valley to the two fords, about at the Forks of the Platte, 433 or 493 miles.

Here at the Forks was a point of departure in the old days. If one chose to follow the South Forks of the Platte he might bring up in the Bayou Salade, within reach of the Spanish settlements and the head of the Arkansas, or he might take the other arm and come out on the edge of the Continental Divide, much higher to the north.

The Oregon trail followed the South Fork for a time, then swung over to the North Fork, at Ash Creek, 513 miles from Independence. It was 667 miles to Fort Laramie, which was the last post on the eastern side of the Rockies. Thence the trail struggled on up the Platte, keeping close as it might to the stream, till it reached the ford of the Platte, well up toward the mountains, and 794 miles out from Independence, nearly the same distance from that point as was Santa Fé on the lower trail.

A little farther on the trail forsook the Platte, 807 miles out from the Missouri, and swung across to the valley of the Sweetwater. The famous Independence Rock, 838 miles from Independence, was one of the most noteworthy features along the trail. It marked the entrance into the Sweetwater district and was a sort of register, holding the rudely carved names of many of the hardy Western adventurers. By the Sweetwater the Oregon trailers were taken below the foot of the Bighorns, through the Devil's Gate, and up to that remarkable crossing of the Rockies, known as South Pass, where Ezra Meeker dedicated his monument under such unusual circumstances, taking water from the irrigation ditches on the east side of the Continental Divide to irrigate the west side. This is 947 miles from the Missouri River.

Starting now down the Pacific side of the Great Divide, the traveler passed over 125 miles of somewhat forbidding country, crossing the Green River before he came to Fort Bridger, the first resting point west of the Rockies, 1,070 miles from the Missouri. This was a delightful spot in every way, and always welcomed by the Oregon trailers.

The Bear River was 1,136 miles from Independence, and to the Soda Springs, on the big bend of the Bear, was 1,206 miles. Thence one crossed over the height of land between the Bear and Port Neuf Rivers, the latter being Columbia water; and, at a distance of 1,288 miles from Independence, reached the very important point of Fort Hall, the post

established and abandoned by Nathaniel Wyeth. This was the first point at which the trail struck the Snake River, that great lower arm of the Columbia, which came dropping from its source opposite the headwaters of the Missouri to point out the way to travelers.

At the Raft River was another point of great interest; for here turned aside the arm of the transcontinental trail that led to California. This fork of the road was 1,334 miles from the Missouri. Working as best it might from the Raft River, down the Great Snake valley, touching and crossing and paralleling several different streams, the Oregon trail proper ran until it reached the Grande Ronde valley, at the eastern edge of the difficult Blue Mountains, 1,736 miles from the starting point. The railway to-day crosses the Blues exactly where the old trail did.

Then the route struck the Umatilla, and shortly thereafter the Columbia River. It was 1,934 miles to the Dalles, 1,977 to the Cascades, 2,020 miles to Fort Vancouver, and 2,134 to the mouth of the Columbia, though the trail proper terminated at Fort Vancouver.

Such was the Oregon trail, traversed by hundreds and thousands of hardy adventurers, outlet of the Missouri rendezvousing station, a mighty highway across which surged the advance tide of a nation's traffic.

Who blazed and followed this historic highway, destined to be marked to posterity fifty years after its zenith? The Frenchman De la Verendrye was perhaps the first to tread a portion of the later Oregon trail; since it is known that he forsook the Missouri River and started overland, possibly up the Platte, crossing some of the country which the Astorians saw later. This was in 1742. The trapper Ezekiel Williams, said to have been the first white man to cross the borders of what is now Wyoming, followed in the wake of Lewis and Clark, in 1807, and blazed a part of the way. Andrew Henry, whose name was given to a beautiful lake of the Rockies; Etienne Provost, the probable discoverer of historic South Pass; Campbell, Fitzpatrick, Sublette, Jim Bridger, Gen. Ashley, Bonneville, and Walker; these are but a few of the leaders who blazed and trod the Oregon trail, making it a well-defined highway before Frémont set out as a "pathfinder."

Then came Wilson Price Hunt, with his overland Astorians, seeking a way from the mid-Missouri to the Columbia River. Later, Robert Stuart and the returning Astorians were to mark out, east of the Continental Divide, the route of the trail for much of its length. Then came

scores of trappers and traders; then Bonneville and his wagons, to deepen the trail, in 1832; and two years later, in 1834, Campbell and Sublette built old Fort Laramie on Laramie Creek, a branch of the Platte. Eight years later, Fort Bridger was built by Jim Bridger, on a branch of the Green River.

In 1836 two women moved out into the West along the Oregon trail. They were the wives of Whitman and Spalding, missionaries bound for Oregon. Father de Smet, a missionary also, followed in 1840; then more missionaries from New England, and two years later Frémont, as far, at least, as the South Pass.

So the Oregon trail was blazed and tramped; traders, trappers, gold-seekers, missionaries, colonists, until the highway stretched from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. Years passed and railroads supplanted the old Oregon trail; its very whereabouts was forgotten; disputes arose. Then an old man, almost eighty, with his grandchild, clambered into a prairie schooner, made in part of the one in which he had journeyed westward in 1852, and the Oregon trail was retraced and marked with monuments, that a people and a nation may not forget.

F. G. M.

Evening Post, N. Y.



MINOR TOPICS

THE AWAKENING OF "OLD IRONSIDES"

(The re-building of the *Constitution* at Boston is well under way, and we quote the best part of the *Evening Post's* account of the famous ship's present condition.)

As has been said, there is no steering-wheel in place on the quarter deck, and one could not help speculating whether the old wheel of the *Java*, described by an English officer who once visited the frigate after the War of 1812, as the only ugly thing aboard her, would be installed. As many mementos of her fighting days as can be gotten together will be collected and placed on exhibition, when she is completed. She is even to have her full battery, all the guns, of the exact size and calibre, that she carried during her naval exploits.

Officially, the *Constitution* was ranked as a "44," that is, she carried forty-four guns, but actually she always had more artillery than her rating entitled her to. This was customary in those days, when a ship would often appropriate a likely gun from a prize, and add it to her battery. According to the best accounts, the *Constitution* carried fifty-four guns, thirty long twenty-four-pounders and twenty-four short thirty-two-pounders, or carronades, on two decks, a heavy battery for a ship of her size, and giving her a broadside of over 700 pounds' weight. It is related by contemporary historians that her guns could send a projectile a distance of a mile with fair accuracy.

The guns for the new battery are being cast in Boston Navy Yard, and the carriages are also being built there on the pattern of the style used in the days of wooden ships. But several of the carriages will be the real thing. They have been saved by some miraculous intervention from the fate that such relics generally share. One of them, which the naval officials say saw service in its time, is already installed in the after port battery on the spar deck. In this work of replacing the artillery the officers have been much helped by a little text book on naval artillery published at Philadelphia in 1803 by a Frenchman, which gives a minute account of the manner of armaments used at that period.

Below decks the thing that strikes the visitor most forcibly is how men managed to live in such quarters for months at a time. On none of the lower decks can a tall man stand upright, and with the exception of the gun deck, they are execrably ventilated. It is incongruous to see the clusters of electric lights that illuminate the blackness of the holds, and the glittering switchboard propped against the age-stained bulwarks. The wardroom is littered with rubbish, and into it filters through the dust-laden panes of the stern windows a misty sunlight from the world without, throwing its rays into the cabins once occupied by Hull and Truxtun and Decatur.

They are tiny cabins, with huge portholes for the cannon that took up most of the room. On the deck below, in the cockpit, where the junior officers lived, the room and light are even scantier. Down a flight of stairs is the entrance to the magazine, a small, zinc-lined room, barred by a wooden door, swinging on hasps. The ammunition hoist runs up through the wardroom and cockpit.

On the berth deck proper, where the 400-and-odd men of the crew lived, some of the beams of the deck above still contain the hammock hooks. The carpenters have appropriated these for hanging their coats. A carpenter's tool chest, with its half-concealed glint of weapons, shows like a rack of cutlasses. It is all very unreal. The swing and murmur of the old ship are almost enough to make one believe that she is once more at sea, and from the uncovered hatches and the dank holds below comes the damp, musty smell of the bilge. It is a sound that is not a sound—the creaking of her ancient timbers. The noise of the workmen on the deck above is out of account, lost like the sunlight.

ROMSEY AND THE DANISH PIRATES

The visitor to England who lands at Southampton finds himself within a few miles of the little town of Romsey, which on June 25 and the two following days will be celebrating the thousandth anniversary of its existence.

Romsey is a typical English town, "all in a flowery vale," with that famous trout stream, the Test, wandering through its meadows, and beneath its bridges, and the old gray abbey rising among its clustered red tiled roofs.

The beautiful park of Broadlands, the home of generations of statesmen, and especially associated with Viscount Palmerston, the Tory premier of the Crimea epoch, lies at the very gates of the town, and an ideal spot beside the pleasant stream of the Test, sheltered by leafy woods, will be available. At this spot, each day, practically the whole population of Romsey will join in giving, somewhat in the spirit of the ancient mystery plays of the Middle Ages, a series of dramatic representations of the most important events in its long history of a thousand years.

In a country district like Hampshire there are to be found many links with the past. For instance, in one of the scenes, which will represent in a striking manner the looting and destruction of the Abbey of Romsey in 994 by King Sweyn and his marauding band of Danes, the ships in which the warriors will appear rowing up the river, will be copied from the remains of actual Danish pirate ships of King Alfred's time, the ribs of which are still to be seen sticking out of the mud on the opposite side of Southampton Water.

This, perhaps, will be the peculiar attraction of the Romsey pageant. You will be taken through scenes of actual historical occurrence, on ground hallowed by the tread of those who took part in them, whether it be in some ancient Saxon or Norman scenes, or later ones which record the seizure of Romsey Abbey by Henry VIII., the pathetic expulsion of the nuns, and the remarkable saving of the abbey church from destruction by the townspeople purchasing it from the King.

In each case you will be looking at the picture of scenes which took place on the spot or in the immediate neighborhood. You can go straight from the pageant ground, and see in Broadlands gardens the fig trees

which James I. planted to commemorate his visit. You will find preserved in the abbey church the deed of 1540, to which the royal seal is still attached, recording the selling of the church to the parishioners. Some of the actors in these far-off events will be direct lineal descendants of those whom they represent. The part of Henri St. Barbe, who entertained James I., for instance, will be taken by the present bearer of his name, Henry St. Barbe of Lymington.

Historical scenes of the pageant close with perhaps the most impressive of all, the progress (taken from a note in a contemporary diary) of Charles I. through Romsey as a prisoner, shortly before his execution.

The enthusiastic interest taken by the townspeople themselves, is immense. The costumes, numbering some 800, are in making by voluntary helpers, and the properties, armor, ornaments, brass and metal work of every kind, are the work of the mechanics and laborers, generously devoting their spare time to their construction. The whole town has been working in unity, all sects alike, to commemorate worthily the thousandth year since the foundation of the abbey (907) and to devote the proceeds, if any, to the complete restoration of the noble church.



EXTRA NUMBERS

I PROPOSE to issue, probably in June and December of each year, an extra or additional number of the MAGAZINE, each consisting of one or more scarce items of Americana.

In size these numbers will be about the same (sixty-four pages) as the MAGAZINE itself: the type the same, or a size larger, and the cover similar.

In this way I shall make it possible for my subscribers to secure at small cost, a number of valuable out-of-print monographs, memoirs, addresses, etc., etc., which are difficult to obtain in the original form. Before beginning, I would like to know how many copies of the first number will be subscribed for—after which I can better judge of the demand for future issues (in no case will the number printed exceed the total circulation of the MAGAZINE itself).

The first number will consist of two pamphlets in one (separate titles and paging), by the late GEORGE H. MOORE, once Librarian of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, later and for many years Superintendent of the LENOX LIBRARY:

WASHINGTON AS AN ANGLER

and

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES IN THE AMERICAN ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION.

Of the first, Mr. Moore printed (1887) only a few copies, for distribution among his friends. It is consequently very scarce, and the copies which occasionally turn up at auction bring good prices.

The second was issued at a memorable epoch—1862—deals with a little-known subject, and is also scarce.

The price of each number as issued will be seventy-five cents (unless in case of unusually large or illustrated issues, of which due notice will be given).

It will obviously aid me, if you will reply promptly, stating whether you will take one or more copies.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM ABBATT.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF COLONEL ISRAEL KEITH

(Long private letter to a friend, but an important historical letter describing the retreat after the BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND under Washington. A contemporary account, the value of which cannot be over-estimated, and naturally very scarce, as the details are of a personal nature such as are rarely found.)

KINGSBRIDGE, 26th Sep^r. 1776.

DEAR CHUM:

I take the conclusion to be this—Our Generals were out-General'd—our works were very strong & numerous; but they were made upon the supposition that the Enemy would attack us in front, as at Bunker Hill. It was just the reverse—and everybody wonders we did not know better at first.

Having given up Long Island it follows of Course that we must retreat from New York, Governor's Island and Powles Hook; for our first retreat brought us under the fire of our own fortifications, that we had made on Long Island and so on.

But when you consider the very fine Retreat that G. Washington has made from all these places, your opinion of him must be great as ever—We had Eight or Ten Thousand men upon Long Island, when he had determin'd to leave it—not boats sufficient to bring a Quarter off at one time—If the Enemy (who were nigh enough to converse with us) should perceive the retreat, all was lost—If it should even be mistrusted in our Army, what Confusion!

In these circumstances General Washington collects all the flat-bottom'd boats in one place—Gives out that he intended to transport a vast number of Troops on to the Island immediately—Thus his real design was unsuspected in all places where the boats were taken from—when it became dark, the next thing was to get off a part at a time with all their baggage, without having the others thinking it a Retreat from the Island—He orders one Brigadier to march to the Boats, & caus'd it to be circulated that they were going to flank the Enemy—They go off in high

Spirits—Having got all things on board they set out, and are landed in York—The Boats go back leaving them, some crying, and some cursing—Another Brigade is brought off in the same way.

Thus it went on very well till it came to the last, who somehow or other had found out the matter; and such distress and confusion were hardly ever seen—Every one praying for God's sake to take him into the Boat—But it was silenc'd by the activity of some Officers; and all got clear, except some few out Sentries which could not be call'd in without sacrificing the whole.

The next thing was to make a Retreat from the City, in which our Salvation was concern'd—To do this General Orders came out, giving the reasons of the first retreat, & making it appear that it was done for the safety of the Troops, concluding that the City was now very strong, and might be held by resolute Troops in spite of all opposition, and that it was the General's Intent to hold it at all events—Thus things being a little settled, & the men in some measure recover'd from their disorder, the General sends out one Reg^t after another towards Kingsbridge, *as there were too many to act with advantage in the City*; taking care at the same time to send great quantities of Stores both by Sea and Land for their use. Thus it went on for about three weeks, everybody being uncertain whether the City was to be evacuated or not—At last the British Troops landed, & took a few men, some Baggage, Waggon &c—Col. Knox, Mr. Leonard ¹ and Doct^r Eustis ² ran thro' a brisk fire and came off.

If you ask why the Enemy did not land on York before—God Almighty forbad 'em!

All this retrograde motion had damp'd the Spirits of our men considerably; but the Enemy presuming too much took it into their heads to follow us up to Kingsbridge, & coming a little too near some of our old Hunters, Riflemen, &c about Seven Hundred of 'em got kill'd & wounded, in an Engagement wherein we had Seventeen Killed and forty wounded.

Although you have heard of these things before, yet they were not in a Letter from me, and that is my excuse for writing them—I find if I

¹ Chaplain Abiel Leonard.

² William Eustis, afterward an army surgeon, Secretary of War, Governor of Massachusetts, and Minister to Holland.

don't write upon public matters I can write nothing—The Army is no place for Sentiments.

You can't think (chum) what a ferocious look I begin to put on—I can almost stare a common man out of countenance. But the sight of the friend he holds dear above all, would soften the looks and brighten the eyes of

Your most affectionate

ISRAEL KEITH.

P. S.—I am in hopes to be with you some time this winter on a short Visit; if God spare me—Save a Bottle of Porter and Two long Pipes.

MR. J. P. PALMER.

LIEUT.-GEN. PHIL. H. SHERIDAN TO MRS. GEN. E. H. STOUGHTON.

No such letter by General Sheridan has ever before been printed. It is a precious relic of the great soldier, and by its very reticence—note the sentence, "when it was necessary that we should win I took it from the Color-bearer and it led the troops to victory"—speaks the more plainly the character of the man.

CHICAGO, Mar. 22d, 1873.

MY DEAR MRS. STOUGHTON—

When last in your house in New York, enjoying your hospitality, I saw the flag of the *Star of the West* draped with evergreens, and under its union the words FIVE FORKS written in beautiful flowers.

I cannot express to you, Madam, the emotions and many thoughts crowding each other which this delicate representation of interesting National Events created. I thought perhaps that it would not be inappropriate to let you replace the flowers which fade, by the battle flag of "Five Forks," and then you could drape together the first and last flags fired upon in the great struggle for our National existence.

My proposition was most gratefully accepted, and I send you by express to-day the Flag. It has always been very dear to me, but this only serves to increase the pleasure I have in giving it to you. The flag was new when I left Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley, February 27th, 1864, and from that date commenced its active service. It took the place of its old and faded comrade of Opequan, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. At Waynesboro the remnant of General Early's Army of the Shenandoah surrendered to it—at the crossing of the James River

by my command on the 25th of March 1865 it was lowered to Mr. Lincoln as he passed through the bridge over which we were crossing. When General Grant passed through the gate to Mr. McLean's house, to receive the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox Court House, it was lowered to him; it has never been lowered in salute or otherwise to anyone else. At Five Forks when it was necessary that we should win I took it from the Color-bearer and it led the troops to victory. The bullet hole in the White was received then. At Jettersville it stood in front of Lee's Army to oppose its further progress until the arrival of the Army of the Potomac. At Sailors' Creek Ewell and his corps surrendered to it. On the morning of the 9th of April 1865 it stood opposite the White flag which the Army of Northern Virginia raised in token of surrender, and while I was advancing to meet the envoys representing the enemies flag, it was fired upon by a brigade of South Carolina troops, receiving the last shot from the Army of Northern Virginia.

I am dear Madam

Very respectfully your

ob'd't servt.

P. H. SHERIDAN,

Lt.-General.



THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

CHAPTER XXVI

WHICH MAY BE SKIPPED OVER BY THE GENTLE READER, AS IT CONTAINS
NOT A SINGLE BLOODY ADVENTURE

CATALINA was received with a welcome kindness by Mrs. Aubineau, the lady with whom she had been invited to spend the winter, and who appeared struck with the improvement of her person since she left boarding-school two or three years before. Our heroine was glad to see Mrs. Aubineau again, having a vivid recollection of her pleasing manners and matronly kindness.

The husband of this lady was a son of one of the Huguenots driven by the bigotry or policy of Louis the Fourteenth to this land of liberty—liberty of action, liberty of speech and liberty of conscience. These emigrants constituted a portion of the best educated, most enlightened, polite and wealthy of the early inhabitants of New-York. They laid the foundation of families which still exist in good reputation, and from some of them have descended men who are for ever associated with the history of our country. The father of Mr. Aubineau had occupied a dignified situation under the Dutch government while it held possession of New-York; but lost it when the province was assigned to the Duke of York, whose hungry retainers were portioned off in the new world, there not being loaves and fishes enough in the old to satisfy them all. Both father and son cherished some little resentment on this occasion; and when a legislative body was established, one or other being generally a member, they never failed to be found voting and acting with the popular side, in opposition to the governor. They joined the old Dutch party in all their measures, which were generally favorable to the rights of the colony, and attained to great consideration and respect among them.

Notwithstanding his politics, Mr. Aubineau the younger married a handsome English woman; not a descendant merely of English parents, but a real native, born and educated in London. Her father came over with an appointment, being a younger brother with a younger brother's

portion, which generally consists in the family influence employed on all occasions in quartering the young branches upon the public. The great use of colonies is to provide for younger brothers. What this appointment was I do not recollect; but whatever it was it enabled Mr. Majoribanks to live in style, and carry his head high above the unlucky beings who furnished the means, and whose destiny it had been to be born on the wrong side of the Atlantic Ocean, where it is well known every thing, from men down to dandies, degenerates. To be born at *home*, as the phrase then was, operated as a sort of patent of nobility, and desperate was the ambition of the rich young citizens and still more desperate that of the city heiresses and their mothers, to unite their fate and fortunes with a real genuine exotic. Many a soldier of fortune "who spent half-a-crown out of sixpence a-day," was thus provided for; and not a few female adventurers gained excellent establishments, over which they were noted for exercising absolute dominion. For a provincial husband to contradict a wife from the mother country was held equivalent to the enormity of a provincial legislature refusing its assent to a rescript of his majesty's puissant governor. It smacked of flat rebellion.

Mr. Aubineau was, however, tolerably fortunate in his choice. His wife always contradicted him aside when in public, and issued her commands in a whisper. She never got angry with him, and only laughed and took her own way whenever he found fault; or what was still more discreet, took no notice of his ill-humour, and did just as she pleased. She was fond of gayety, dress, and equipage, and particularly fond of flirting with the officers attached to the governor's family and establishment. These gentlemen, having nothing to do and no inclination to marry, except they were well paid for it, naturally selected the married ladies as objects for their devoirs; very properly concluding, that whatever might be the case with the ladies, there could be no breach of promise of marriage on their part, and consequently no dishonour in being as particular as the lady pleased. As to the provincial husbands, they were out of the question.

Among the most prominent of the foibles of Mrs. Aubineau was an idea at that time very prevalent among both English and American women. This was an undisguised and confirmed conviction, that the whole universe was a nest of barbarians, compared with old England, and that there was as much moral and physical difference between being born there and here, as there was space between the two countries. Though not much of the blue-stocking, that sisterhood not having made its appear-

ance as a distinct class in those days, like all good English folks, she could ring the changes on Shakespeare and Milton, and Bacon and Locke; those four great names on which English poetry, philosophy, and metaphysics seem entirely to depend for their renown; and which form a standard to which every blockhead more or less assimilates his mind, as if the reflected rays of their glory had illuminated in some degree the midnight darkness of his own intellect. This truly John Bull notion she considered so settled and established beyond all reasonable question, that she always spoke of it with an amusing simplicity, arising from a perfect confidence in an undisputed point, upon which all mankind, except her husband, agreed with as much unanimity as that the sun shone in a clear day. In regard to the solitary exception aforesaid, Mrs. Aubineau settled that in her mind, by referring it to that undefinable matrimonial sympathy which impels so many men to agree with every other woman when she is wrong, and oppose their wives whenever they are right. The connexion between this lady and our heroine originated in a marriage between the elder Aubineau and a sister of Colonel Vancour. Into the hands of Mrs. Aubineau the colonel consigned his daughter for the winter, at the same time communicating her engagement with Sybrandt Westbrook, at which she laughed not a little in her sleeve. She had already a plan in her head for establishing her rich and beautiful guest in a far more splendid sphere, as she was pleased to imagine. At the end of eight or ten days Colonel Vancour took his departure for home in the good sloop *Watervliet*, which had made vast despatch in unlading and lading, on account of the lateness of the season.

Catalina was connected in different ways with almost all the really respectable and wealthy inhabitants of New-York and its vicinity; such as, the Philipses, the Stuyvesants, the Van Courtlandts, the Beekmans, Bayards, Delanceys, Gouverneurs, Van Hornes, Rapalyes, Rutgers, Waltons, and a score of others too tedious to enumerate. Of course she could be in no want of visitors or invitations, and there was every prospect of a gay winter. But all these good folks were only secondary in the estimation of Mrs. Aubineau, when compared with—not his majesty's governor and his family, for they were out of the sphere of mortal comparison—but with the families of his majesty's chief justice, his majesty's attorney and solicitor-generals, his majesty's collector of the customs, and, indeed, with the families of any of his majesty's petty officers, however insignificant. These formed the focus of high life in the ancient city of New-York, and nothing upon the face of the earth was more ridiculous in the eyes of a

discreet observer than the pretensions of this little knot of dependants over the truly dignified independence of the great body of the wealthy inhabitants, except, perhaps, the docility with which these latter submitted to the petty usurpation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A KNIGHT AND AN HONORABLE. THE READER IS DESIRED TO MAKE HIS BEST BOW.

THE morning after Catalina's arrival she received the visits of several officers, two of whom had the honor of being aids to his excellency the governor and commander-in-chief. They therefore merit a particular introduction. "Gentle Reader, this is Sir Thicknesse Throgmorton; and this is the Honorable Barry Gilfillan, of an ancient and noble Irish family, somewhat poor but very honest, having suffered divers forfeitures for its loyalty to the Stuarts—that stupid, worthless race, whose persevering pretensions to a crown they had justly forfeited by their tyranny, drew after them the ruin of thousands of generous and devoted victims. Sir Thicknesse and Colonel Gilfillan, this is the gentle Reader, a beautiful and accomplished lady of great taste, as all our female readers are, thank Heaven!"

Sir Thicknesse Throgmorton was what is now generally designated a "real John Bull," a being combining more of the genuine elements of the ridiculous than perhaps any other extant. Stiff as buckram, and awkward as an ill-contrived automaton; silent, stupid and ill-mannered, yet at the same time full of pretensions to a certain deference, due only from others in exchange for courtesy and good-breeding. Ignorant of his own country from incapacity to learn, and of the rest of the world from a certain contemptuous stupidity, he exalted the one and contemned the other without knowing exactly why, except that—that it certainly was so, and there was an end of the matter. His bow was both an outrage upon nature and inclination, except when he bent to the lady of the governor, or the governor himself; and his dancing the essence of solemn stupidity, aiming at dignified nonchalance. Nothing called forth his lofty indignation more than being spoken to by an inferior in rank, dress, or station. This indignation was manifested by a most laughable jumble of insurmountable clumsiness with affected dignity and high

aristocratic breeding. There was nothing he so much valued himself upon as the *air noble*. Independently of the outrage upon his personal, hereditary and official dignity manifested by an abrupt address from an inferior, Sir Thicknesse had another special cause for disliking to be spoken to by strangers. The fact is he was so long in collecting the materials for an answer to the most common observation, that he seldom forgave a person for putting him to the trouble. He had a most rare and, at that time, original style of making the agreeable, which is now, however, pretty general among high-bred persons. He placed himself directly opposite the lady, straddling like a gigantic pair of brass tongs, to collect his ideas into one great explosion—such, for instance, as “Don’t you find it rather warm, *Mawm?*” Perfectly satisfied with this mighty effort, the knight would strut off in triumph, to repose himself for the rest of the evening under the shade of his laurels. Added to this, he was a grumbling, ill-tempered, dissatisfied being, full of pretensions on the score of his personal accomplishments and the interest of his family. There is nothing in fact so dignified in the eyes of “a real John Bull” as possessing a family influence, which renders personal merit and services quite superfluous.

With regard to the person of Sir Thicknesse, it was admirably contrived to set off his exemplary awkwardness to the best advantage. It was a perfect caricature of dignified clumsiness. His limbs struck you as being too large for his body, until you studied the latter, when it seemed perfectly clear that the body was too large for the limbs. Taken by itself, every feature of his face was out of proportion; but examine them in connection as a whole, and there was a harmonious combination of unfinished magnitude, that constituted a true and just proportion of disproportions. His eyes sent forth a leaden luster; his nose was equally compounded of the pug and the bottle; his lips would have been too large for his mouth, had not his mouth been large enough to harmonize with them; and his cheeks expanded into sufficient amplitude to accommodate the rest of his face without any of the features being crowded two in a room, which everybody knows is the abomination of every “real John Bull” in existence. Sir Thicknesse was of an ancient and honorable family, distinguished in the annals of England. One of his ancestors had committed an assassination in the very precincts of the court, and being obliged to fly in the disguise of a peasant, in order the more effectually to escape detection, was overtaken by the king’s pursuivant, sawing wood with one of his companions in a forest. His attendant faltering

on the appearance of the pursuivant, for a moment stopped sawing, when the other exclaimed significantly, "Thorough"—or "Through"—tradition is doubtful which. The attendant took the hint, continued his work, and the pursuivant passed them without detection. In memory of this great exploit, the illustrious fugitive from justice adopted this phrase as the motto of his coat of arms; and it descended to his posterity. Another of his illustrious ancestors was distinguished in the wars of York and Lancaster for his inflexible loyalty, being always a most stanch supporter of the king *de facto*, and holding kings *de jure* in great contempt. A third, and the greatest of all the family of Sir Thicknesse, was an illegitimate descendant of a theatrical strumpet and a scoundrel king, who demonstrated the force of blood by afterward marrying an actress of precisely the same stamp of her from whom he sprung. No wonder Sir Thicknesse was proud of his family.

But great as his progenitors were, they could not hold a candle to those of Colonel Barry Fitzgerald Macartney Gilfillan, a genuine Milesian, whose ancestors had been kings of Connaught, princes of Breffny and lords of Ballyshannon, Ballynomora, Ballynahinch, Ballygruddrey, Ballyknockamora and several lordships besides. Gilfillan was an Irish Bull, a perfect contrast to an English Bull. He was all life, love, gallantry, whim, wit, humor and hyperbole. His animal spirits were to him as the wings of a bird, on which he mounted into the regions of imagination and folly. They flew away with him ten times an hour. He learned everything so fast that he knew nothing perfectly; and such was the impetuosity of his conceptions, that one-half the time they came forth wrong end foremost. His ignorance of a subject never for a moment prevented him from dashing right into it, or stopped the torrent of his ideas, which resembled a stream swelled by the rains, being excessively noisy and not very clear. His ideas, in truth, seemed always turning somersaults over the heads of each other, and for the most part presented that precise rhetorical arrangement which is indicated by the phrase of "putting the cart before the horse." He never pleaded guilty to ignorance of anything, nor was ever known to stop a moment to get hold of the right end of an idea—maintaining with a humorous obstinacy, that as he always came to the right end at last, it was of no consequence where he began.

Nature had given to Colonel Gilfillan a more than usual share of the truly Irish propensity to falling in love extempore. His heart was

quite as hot as his head, and between the two there was a perfect volcano. He was always under high steam pressure. He once acknowledged, or rather boasted—for he never confessed anything—that he had fallen in love at the Curragh of Kildare with six ladies in one day, and was refused by them all in less than twenty-four hours afterward. "But, faith!" added he, "I killed two horses riding about the country after them; and that was some comfort." "Comfort," said a friend, "how do you make that out, Gilfillan?" "Why, wasn't it proof I didn't stand shilly-shally, waiting my own consent any more than that of the ladies, my dear?" It is scarcely necessary to add, that he was generous, uncalculating, brave, and a man of his word, except in love affairs and sometimes in affairs of business, when he occasionally lost at play the money he had promised to a tradesman. His person exhibited a rich redundancy of manly beauty, luscious with youth, health and vigor; he sang charmingly; played the fiddle so as to bring tears into your eyes; danced, laughed, chatted, blundered, gallanted, flattered and made love with a graceful confidence and fearless audacity that caused him to be a great favorite and rather a dangerous companion for women of warm imaginations and mere ordinary refinement of manners and feelings. Like most men of his profession, his ideas on certain subjects were of the latitudinarian order. Gilfillan swore he was a man of as much honor as ever wore a uniform. He would not pick a pocket; but as for picking a lady's white bosom of a sweet little heart—let him alone for that. A fair exchange was no robbery all the world over; and he always left his own with them, if there were twenty. When his brother officers laughed at him for having so many hearts, "Och, my dears" he would reply, "what do you talk about having but one heart? A man with only one heart in his bosom is like a poor devil with only a shilling in his pocket—he is afraid to part with it, and so starves himself just for fear of starving."

(To be continued.)

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. V.

JUNE, 1907.

No. 6.

CONTENTS

THE FRUITION OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787 (<i>Concluded</i>)	
<i>The late</i> GENERAL WAGER SWAYNE	311
THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK (<i>Concluded</i>)	
A. FRANKLIN ROSS	319
THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION AGAIN . H. A. SCORUP	327
WASHINGTON'S SOCIAL LIFE STAN. V. HENKELS	333
ANN PAMELA CUNNINGHAM, THE "SOUTHERN MATRON"	
(<i>First Paper</i>)	337
A MEMORY OF ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT	
(<i>Communicated by</i>) C. M. BURTON	345
NOTES AND QUERIES	357
EXPERIENCES OF A LOYALIST BOSTON PHYSICIAN, 1775 .	358
THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE: Chapter XXVIII	
JAMES K. PAULDING	366

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THE FRUITION OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

(Conclusion.)

OTHER settlements, one of them Cincinnati, were made in 1788-9. The Ohio was the highway of these travellers, their vehicle the flatboats. In 1796 a thousand of these "broadhorns" as they were called, passed down the river to what are now Ohio and Indiana.¹²

Despite a dreadful Indian war from 1790 to 1795, the number of settlers increased until in 1803 the eastern division of the territory was admitted as a State—the State of Ohio.

There were not wanting those who made a struggle to remove even at that date, the inhibition against slavery.

Congress, however, had recognized that the provisions of the ordinance were a contract with the people who had settled there; hence, the Enabling Act required, as we have seen, that the Constitution of the State be not repugnant to those provisions. The effort for a slavery constitution on the part of the Virginia and Kentucky immigrants, was nevertheless

¹² Flint, himself a pioneer, thus speaks of early emigration: "The writer distinctly remembers the wagon that carried out a number of adventurers from the counties of Essex and Middlesex in Massachusetts, on the second emigration to the woods of Ohio. He remembers the black canvas covering; the lettering in large, white capitals, 'To Marietta on the Ohio.' He remembers the food which, even then, the thought of such a distant expedition furnished to his imagination. Some twenty emigrants accompanied the wagon."

The older States looked with ill-favor on this emigration. They were as yet but sparsely settled, and besides had lands to sell within their own limits. The criticism which they experienced induced the emigrants to justify themselves by coloring their reports of their experience.

Judge Timothy Walker says: "The powerful engine of caricature was set in motion. I have a distinct recollection of a picture I saw in an anti-moving-to-Ohio pamphlet. In it, a stout, ruddy, well-dressed man, on a sleek, fat horse, with a label, 'I am going to Ohio,' meets a pale, ghastly skeleton of a man, scarce half clothed, on the wreck of what was once a horse, with another label, 'I have been there!'"—*Indian Wars of the West*.

sharp enough to bring to the front some of the men of the Newburgh camp and their descendants. Foremost was Ephraim Cutler, father of Hon. William P. and son of Rev. Dr. Manasseh. Thus came into the world the free State of Ohio, the first-born of the Ordinance of 1787. Meantime, May 7, 1800, Indiana Territory had been established, and its Enabling Act provided for a government similar to that provided for by the Ordinance of 1787. Possibly this new Territory was brought about in part, by efforts of the old slaveholding element, which was there already when the Ordinance passed, particularly at Vincennes, where were many slaves. Certain it is that this element immediately besought Congress to remove the anti-slavery prohibition, and five times in four years the petitions were refused—though the most noteworthy one originated with no less a person than William Henry Harrison, then governor of the Territory.

It was referred to a committee headed by John Randolph of Roanoke, who reported adversely, March 2, 1803, in these memorable words:

“The rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently shows that slave labor is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. This labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States.

The committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the Northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration.”

The illustration was significant and the prediction just. Thirty years later, Chief Justice Chase, in his preface to the Revised Statutes of Ohio, thus eloquently referred to the scope of the Ordinance of 1787, and to its actual operation: “Never, probably, in the history of the world did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfil, and yet so mightily exceed the anticipations of the legislators. The Ordinance has been well described as having been a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, in the settlement and government of the Northwestern States. The law was impressed upon the soil itself, while it yet bore up nothing but the forest.

. . . This remarkable instrument was the last gift of the Congress of the old Confederation to the country, and a fit consummation of their glorious labors. . . . The great principles promulgated by it are wholly and purely American—the genuine principles of freedom, unadulterated by that compromise with circumstances, the effects of which are visible in the Constitution and history of the Union.”

In 1837, Judge Timothy Walker, speaking at Cincinnati, eulogized the wonderful fact that, in spite of the great interests and wide areas which for half a century it had controlled, not one of them all had ever made necessary an amendment of the Ordinance. “Upon the surpassing excellence of this Ordinance, no language of panegyric would be extravagant. It approaches as nearly to absolute perfection as anything to be found in the legislation of mankind. . . . it would perhaps be impossible to alter without marring it. . . . The emigrant knew beforehand that this was the land of the highest political as well as national progress, and under the auspices of another Moses he journeyed with confidence towards his new Canaan.”

Earlier than either of these, in the speech to which Hayne replied, and which was followed by the wonderful “Reply to Hayne,” Webster had said: “We are accustomed to praise the lawyers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than has the Ordinance of 1787. We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow.”

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts brought his admirable and eloquent oration at the Marietta Centennial to this conclusion: “We stand by the graves of great soldiers of the War of Independence. This is the centennial of the State of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Garfield. The men of the Revolution fought that the principles of the Ordinance of 1787 might become living realities; the great Captains of the late war fought that the compact might be kept and forever remain unalterable. The five States of the Northwest Territory sent nearly a million soldiers into the war for the Union. . . . It is this that makes the birthday of Ohio another birthday of the Nation itself. Forever honored be Marietta as another Plymouth. The Ordinance belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title-deeds of American constitutional liberty. As the American youth for uncounted

centuries shall visit the capital of his country . . . he will admire the evidences of its grandeur and the monuments of its historic glory . . . but if he know his country's history, and consider wisely the sources of her glory, nothing will so stir his heart as two fading and time-soiled papers whose characters were traced by the hands of the fathers a hundred years ago. They are original records of the acts which devoted this Nation forever to equality, education, religion and liberty. One is the Declaration of Independence, the other the Ordinance of 1787."

The last effort to repeal the anti-slavery clause was made in November, 1807, and failed. This virtually ended the conflict. Eastern Indiana filled rapidly with settlers from Ohio and the North; and when, in 1816, that eastern part became the present State, its Constitution bore the seal of the great Ordinance, that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime."

In Illinois there was the same struggle with more peril of the result.

The pro-slavery element there was at once stronger and more violent than even in Indiana. It made strenuous efforts, in the campaign for the election of delegates to the convention (for framing the State Constitution) and afterwards in the Convention, to secure a pro-slavery Constitution. It failed, and in 1818 came into being the new State, as a free State. But once in the Union, it could amend its Constitution; and the slave power was not slow to take advantage of this liberty, and in 1824 a tremendous effort was made to secure a new Constitutional Convention, with that end in view. The rival candidates for governor were nominated on that issue; the struggle was intense, but the call for a convention was defeated—a result largely due to Edward Coles. He was the anti-slavery candidate, and was elected.

Thirty years afterwards he referred to his own part in that struggle as his consolation in old age. At the same time he said, referring to the Ordinance, "Since its principles were repudiated in 1854, we have had nothing but contention, riots and threats, if not the awful realities of civil war."¹⁸

In 1837, Michigan, and in 1848, Wisconsin, was admitted as a free State—but long before the Ordinance itself had entered on a new career.

¹⁸ He died in 1868, having lived to see those same repudiated principles, in their time-honored phrase, restored and applicable to the whole United States. A Virginian, he freed his own slaves and gave each family one hundred and sixty acres of land.

From the first beginning of an adverse feeling between the States, over slavery, that feeling took the form of jealousy over the relative number of Slave and Free States, which should be admitted into the Union, and should thus tend to give either side a preponderance in Congress. The province of Congress to control the slavery question in the Territories arose from the fact that in law it is a question of property right. A slave is in contemplation of law, the property of some one else. In the States, the care and province of the State includes all rights of persons and property; the province of the Federal Government includes all inter-State and international relations.

In the Territories, however, this province includes also the rights of person and property—hence Congress controlled there the question of the right to property in slaves.

For a time this question was easily disposed of. East of the Mississippi, the settlers in territory not included in the States generally held slaves, while north of the Ohio there were none.

By tacit agreement new States were admitted from alternate sides of the river. Thus came Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Maine (1820). The territory east of the Mississippi thus exhausted, Missouri, the same year, came knocking at the door. This raised a stormy question—what of the whole vast region west of the Mississippi? That was settled by the famed "Missouri Compromise"—an act of Congress (1820), "to prohibit slavery in certain territories," which in its eighth section applies the language of the Ordinance of 1787 to the region west of the Mississippi: "That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30' north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited; provided, always, that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

This meant that it had been agreed upon in Congress that the line of the Ohio should be prolonged due west to the Pacific, and that new States, free and slave, alternately from north and south of that line, should be

admitted as before, upon the passage of this act. John Quincy Adams wrote to his wife: "If the Union must be dissolved, the slavery question is precisely the question on which it ought to break. For the present, however, that question is laid to sleep."

It was supposed, and correctly, on both sides, that the Territories, when they became States, would adopt or exclude slavery in accordance, in each instance, with their territorial condition—hence it was that Adams regarded the question as laid to sleep.

But it was troubled sleep, not rest. Florida and Iowa, Arkansas and Oregon, it is true, came in respectively without contention. The acquisition of Texas, and Mexico's territorial concessions tended to disturb the equilibrium by greatly enlarging the territory south of the dividing line. California was a cause of contest, involved with which also were the applications of New Mexico and Utah for territorial governments. In 1854 these troubles culminated in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; by which Congress for the first time withdrew the protection of the Ordinance from territory which the flag with its inscription had once covered.

The repeal was in these words: "The eighth section of the Act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measure, is hereby declared inoperative and void."

I was a Yale student then, and remember the church bells in New Haven being tolled as for a funeral when the act of repeal was passed. My parents were Virginians. They freed their slaves when they were married, and began life in a free State, but my relatives and early associations were largely Southern. I was provoked by what seemed to me uncalled-for and jealous feeling. To-day those bells sound in my memory as the prophetic knell, I need not tell you of how many or of whom. Nor need I trace out for you how the War arose from that repeal.

It is better to turn from these memories to the majesty with which Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas and Nebraska, as so many children of the Ordinance, each bearing on its Constitution the inscription that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime," came to the rescue of the Union. More than

a million Union soldiers came from those seven States. The share the Ordinance had in sending them has been made plain to you. Perhaps they turned the scale; there were enough of them for that.

In view of the repealing Act of 1854, it was the very poetry of justice when the victory came, to go back to the Ordinance of 1787; to take those words, of which in the Kansas-Nebraska Act it was decreed they should be "inoperative and void," and to declare of those same words that throughout the United States, and in all places within their jurisdiction, they should be forever in full force.

The circumstances which attended this transaction deserve notice. On March 6, 1862, a special message of President Lincoln had urged on Congress the adoption of a joint resolution pledging the coöperation of the United States, by both pecuniary aid and appropriate legislation, "with any State which may adopt the gradual abolishment of slavery," the special idea in this being that the acceptance of it by the border States would cut off from the South all hope that these States would ever join in plans aimed at the preservation of slavery. This suggestion the Senate had adopted. No legislation, however, was perfected, and the full weight of the situation was left to be devolved upon the President, so far as concerned the question of slavery in the States.

An Act approved June 19, 1862, enacted that from that date in any Territory, there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime. On July 19 another Act was approved, enlisting colored soldiers and forbidding the surrender of fugitive slaves and freeing such as belonged to rebels and came under the Government.

Antietam quickened the march of events and five days later came the Emancipation Proclamation.

Various anti-slavery bills and resolutions were introduced in Congress in 1863—but the initiation in the Senate of this grand completion of liberty in our country was due to John B. Henderson,¹⁴ a Senator from Missouri, who was at every stage of the struggle conspicuous for the courage, sagacity and unwavering confidence with which he accepted, on behalf of the most important of the border States, whatever the new progress of the nation into light and liberty required. On January 11, 1864, he introduced in the Senate a joint resolution providing for an amendment, of which Article I was to be: "Slavery or involuntary servi-

¹⁴ Mr. Henderson still lives, April, 1907.

tude, except as a punishment for crime, shall not exist in the United States."¹⁵

The widest interest and the most intense feeling had watched and waited for the seal of the final affirmative of the House upon the Senate's proposition of humanity. A great audience crowded the galleries and every place of access. The Senators, members of the Cabinet, and Supreme Court, were also on the floor of the House to watch the issue of the roll-call. When the Speaker announced the passage of the resolution, there was an uproar of delight. When it lessened Mr. Ingersoll of Illinois said: "In honor of this immortal and sublime event I move that the House do now adjourn." This commemorative motion passed with delighted approval.

The requisite acceptance of the proposed amendment by the several States, and President Johnson's proclamation of this fact, December 18, 1865, fixed the Thirteenth Amendment in the Constitution, there to remain forever as the setting of the jewel of the Ordinance of 1787.

Let these events drop out now that have intervened, that we may see how close those men of 1776 have come to us, and the part they have played in our own lives. In a most real sense the men from the States named who engaged in the last war were soldiers of the Ordinance of 1787. We were among those soldiers, or else they were our comrades. So far as that million of men may have turned the scale of war, it was the Ordinance that shaped that feature of our lives. To whatever extent it did that, to that extent our lives were shaped by those men of '76, who *were* the Ordinance. Of itself it embodied nothing until its articles of compact were put on as armor by those heroes of the Revolution. They carried its flag into the wilderness, and there they won new fields; and they are buried there. When Secession appeared those Revolutionary heroes came again, not to our sight as such, but as a million soldiers from those States whose origin they shaped; and in that guise they marched and fought with us, until there came upon the earth a new and risen liberty, whose temple holds enshrined a broader and a higher place.

Deep into its cornerstone is cut the old inscription that

THERE SHALL BE NEITHER SLAVERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE,
EXCEPT FOR CRIME.

WAGER SWAYNE.

¹⁵ (Various proposals and votes were taken, without success, until the second session of the 38th Congress began, December, 1864, and on January 28, 1865, the original resolution was carried.—ED.)

THE HISTORY OF LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK

IV

LOTTERIES IN NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTION

(*Conclusion.*)

NEVERTHELESS two more lotteries were authorized by the legislature, one April 14, 1820, "to enable the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of Albany to dispose of their Public Lands by Lottery."³³

The city had incurred a debt on account of grants to the Academy and to the Lancaster School. The amount of the lottery was fixed at \$250,000. The act stated that tickets were not to be sold outside of Albany County. The other lottery, and the last authorized by the legislature, was granted March 24, 1823, to provide for the erection of a fever hospital in New York City, for the reception of persons who might be taken ill with yellow fever.³⁴ In return for the privilege of organizing a lottery for this purpose, New York City paid the state \$40,000. The act stated that no tickets in this lottery were to be sold until all other lotteries had been completed. The time of completing existing lotteries was computed to be eleven and one-half years. The time for beginning the hospital lottery would not come, therefore, until 1834. Meantime New York was authorized to borrow money and begin the erection of the hospital at once.

On March 5, 1822, an act was passed "facilitating the drawing of Lotteries and bringing the same to a close."³⁵ By this act dealing in tickets from lotteries outside of New York was made punishable by a fine of \$2,000. Additional provisions against the insuring of tickets were made. The Comptroller was directed to coöperate with the managers of lotteries to aim at bringing all lotteries to a close.

³³ *Laws of New York*, 1820, p. 224. These lotteries were viewed simply as additional grants under a previous act.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1823, p. 92.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1822, p. 73.

An act passed April 5, 1822, turned over the control of all state lotteries to the institutions in whose favor they were granted.³⁶ It was believed that the institutions could manage them with less delay, less hazard and greater economy. All responsibility for the management of the lotteries was thereby turned over to the institutions interested. Managers however, were required to furnish bond to the amount of \$30,000 as formerly.

A report made by a special committee to the Assembly April 23, 1829, stated that from 1814 to 1822, owing to delays in drawing lotteries and to losses and frauds, the institutions for whose benefit the lotteries were established, had received less than the interest on the grants made to them under the act of 1814.³⁷ The certificate of the comptroller showed that there was due to the several institutions represented in the Literature Lottery, the sum of \$322,256.81.

The first step requisite for the transfer of the management of the lotteries by the institutions was a formal acceptance of the proposal of the state by the institutions concerned. By April 21, 1823, all the institutions had filed their acceptance of the offer made by the state.³⁸ Union College then bought up the claims of all the other institutions represented in the act of 1814, and also the claim of \$12,000 of the New York Historical Society. The trustees of Union then entered into a contract with John B. Yates and Archibald M'Intyre by which the trustees conveyed to Yates and M'Intyre their interest in the lotteries for the sum of \$276,090.14.

The Albany Land Lottery, established in 1820, remained dormant until April 13, 1826, when the legislature permitting the city to assume entire control of the lottery.³⁹ The same act removed all restrictions as to the sale of tickets outside of Albany County. The city then turned the lottery over to Yates and M'Intyre, who thereby came into control of all the authorized lotteries of the state. The Land Lottery was consolidated with the Literature Lottery and land prizes were mingled with cash prizes.

A report rendered by the comptroller March 9, 1826, gives a statement of the avails of lotteries granted from 1801. It shows also how the funds were appropriated.⁴⁰

³⁶ *Laws of New York*, 1822, p. 157.

³⁷ *Journal of Assembly*, 1828-9, p. 576.

³⁸ *Report of Special Committee, Journal*, 1828-9, p. 576.

³⁹ *Laws of New York*, 1826, p. 207.

⁴⁰ Report of W. L. Marcy, State Comptroller, *Journal of Assembly*, 1826, pp. 786-789.

STATEMENT OF THE COMPTROLLER (WILLIAM L. MARCY)

From the Literature Lottery granted in 1801:		
To use of common schools.....	\$ 25,000.00	
To Regents of the University for academies.....	25,000.00	
To improve Sag Harbor.....	5,000.00	
To improve highways, Schoharie County.....	600.00	
To improve navigation of Hudson River....	\$35,000.00	
From Medical Science Lottery granted 1810:		
To same.....	\$28,989.32	63,989.32
To purchase Elgin Botanic Garden.....		74,268.75
To Chemical and Anatomical School Fairfield Academy	\$ 4,288.40	
From Literature Lottery granted 1811:		
To same.....	\$ 711.60	5,000.00
From the Union College Lottery granted 1805:		
To College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City	\$20,000.00	
From Literature Lottery granted 1811:		
To same.....	\$ 9,011.59	29,011.59
From the Literature Lottery granted 1801:		
To building of the Capitol in Albany.....	\$12,000.00	
From Union College Lottery granted 1805:		
To the same.....	\$20,000.00	32,000.00
To endow Union College.....	\$80,000.00	
From Literature Lottery granted 1811:		
To same.....	\$64,405.12	148,405.12
To improve ferry between Hudson and Athens.....		12,247.29
To improve road, Plattsburg to Chateaugay.....		5,000.00
To endow Hamilton College.....		21,233.28
To use of St. John Church, Johnstown.....		2,883.47
To use Asbury African Church, N. Y. City.....		1,217.32
From Literature Lottery granted 1801:		
Surplus paid into treasury.....		1,165.00
From Union College Lottery granted 1805:		
Paid into treasury towards reimbursing treasury for losses by the failure of Napthali, Judah and others..	\$19,295.87	
From Corporation of New York City for privilege of rais- ing by lottery funds for building a hospital..	\$40,000.00	59,295.87
		<hr/>
		\$511,317.01

At the same time Yates and M'Intyre were required to make a report of the total amount of tickets which they had sold since they took control of the state lotteries. They reported that they had sold tickets to the amount of \$2,157,272.38.⁴¹

In April an act was passed to prevent the sale of tickets from unauthorized lotteries.⁴² The penalty for violating the law was a fine of \$100 for every ticket sold, or a year imprisonment. By this act the charge for licenses was fixed at \$250 for New York, \$125 for Albany, \$75 for Hudson. The penalty for forging tickets was changed to seven years' imprisonment. In 1828 the foregoing act was amended to state that the Mayor of Troy should pay the sums received from lottery licenses to the trustees of School No. 1, to be applied for the establishment of a high school on the monitorial plan to train teachers for the common schools.

By the year 1829 lotteries had become thoroughly discredited. The committee from the Assembly appointed to report on the feasibility of repealing all laws authorizing the sale of lottery tickets stated:

"It is not now a question as to whether lotteries are pernicious and unworthy of legislative support. . . . They are dubious in the eyes of morality, and certain in the most pernicious results. Still it was held by the committee that the state would not be justified in repealing acts of the legislature by which the faith of the state had been plighted.

The amount due Union College from Yates and M'Intyre on January 1, 1809, was \$146,516.58. The committee reported that it would not be expedient for the state to pay so large a sum from the state treasury to satisfy the claims for the lotteries.

In 1832 the grand jury brought in a presentment stating that the managers of the state lotteries had sold more than the number of tickets authorized, and that their rights to hold further lotteries had ceased. The attorney-general Greene C. Bronson, made a report to the Assembly in which he stated as his opinion that the law permitted the lotteries to run until 1834.⁴³

In 1833 Palmer Canfield, a dealer in lottery tickets, sent a petition to the state senate in which he set forth certain grievances against the managers of the lotteries and made some pointed charges against them. He asserted that Yates and M'Intyre had greatly overdrawn the lottery;

⁴¹ *Journal*, 1826, pp. 832-4.

⁴² *Assembly Documents*, 1832, IV, p. 292.

⁴³ *Laws*, 1827, p. 327.

that from May 1, 1823, to February 1, 1833, they had drawn two hundred and forty-five schemes aggregating a sum of \$40,000,000. Canfield admitted, however, that of the whole amount, probably one-third only had been sold in tickets.⁴⁴

Yates and M'Intyre made a brief reply in which they declined to discuss the charges at length.⁴⁵ They stated, "It is well known and has without hesitation been so stated by the subscribers, that a small portion only of the tickets in each class within this state have been sold. . . . They cannot fail to ascribe some of the attacks, to a demoniacal malignity, which has been laboring for years without a known cause, to do them injury by misrepresentation."

The question of the constitutionality of the act of April 13, 1826, removing all restrictions from the Albany Land Lottery had been agitated so much that the Assembly called upon the attorney-general to report on the subject and on the time to which the lotteries could legally continue. He declared that though in his opinion the act of 1826 was unwise and inexpedient, that, still, it was constitutional and that the lottery might be continued until April 21, 1834.⁴⁶

A special committee of the Assembly appointed to report on the question of bringing lotteries to a close, stated that the contractors had agreed not to continue the lotteries after December 31, 1833, and recommended that the legislature accept the agreement.⁴⁷ An act was passed, accordingly, on April 30, 1833, declaring that lotteries might continue through the year and that then all lotteries were to cease.⁴⁸

A committee appointed by the senate relative to the sale of foreign lottery tickets made a report February 12, 1834, in which they recommended the passing of certain provisions.⁴⁹ The report stated that there were no authorized lotteries then in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire, or Illinois.

The recommendations of the committee found expression in the Revised Law which stated the penalties against lottery dealing.⁵⁰

"No person shall, by printing, writing, or in any other way, publish an account of any such illegal lottery, game or device, stating when or

⁴⁴ *Senate Documents*, 1833, II, p. 108.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1833, II, p. 98.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 119.

⁴⁸ *Laws*, 1833, p. 484.

⁴⁶ *Assembly Documents*, 1833, I, p. 13.

⁴⁹ *Senate Documents*, 1834, II, p. 52.

⁵⁰ *Revised Statutes*, I Chapter XX, p. 665, section 28.

where the same is to be drawn, or the prizes therein, or any of them, or the price of a ticket or share therein, or where any ticket may be obtained therein, or in any way aiding or assisting therein. Whoever offends against this provision, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and on conviction, be subject to a fine not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, or to imprisonment not exceeding three calendar months."

Lotteries were suppressed in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts at about the same time as in New York. The Governor of Pennsylvania sent a request to neighboring states asking for their coöperation in bringing about the total abolition of lotteries, because of the public and private injuries which have resulted from them. Lotteries were suppressed in Pennsylvania after December 1, 1833.⁵¹

Governor Lincoln of Massachusetts also sent an appeal to neighboring states asking for cooperation in the suppression of lotteries.⁵² He spoke of "Astounding disclosures of an extensively prevalent, although hitherto almost unheeded cause of personal and domestic distress, of legal transgression and of widespread and overwhelming evil." The Massachusetts legislature passed an act abolishing lotteries after February 13, 1833.

The disastrous social effects of lotteries were the chief cause of their abolition. A book entitled "The Lottery System in the United States," written by Job R. Tyson in 1837, gives a statement of cases of insolvency that were due to speculation in lotteries. He furnishes, also, a list of embezzlements, frauds, larcenies, and robberies, which resulted from lottery speculation. He cites also, cases of intemperance and suicide that were due to the same cause.

Lotteries to-day are under the ban of the law in English speaking countries generally; but they still exist in many European countries, notably in Germany,⁵³ Austria, and Italy, where their continued operation under state control is defended upon economic grounds.

⁵¹ *Assembly Documents*, 1834, I, p. 11.

⁵² *Assembly Documents*, 1834, II, p. 77.

⁵³ The best account of German lotteries is a dissertation for the doctorate at the University of Bonn, 1882, by F. Endemann, entitled, "*Beiträge zur Geschichte Der Lotterien und Zum Heutigen Lotterierechte.*"

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A. FRANKLIN ROSS.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION AGAIN.

THE Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, after passing under the flail periodically and semi-periodically for nearly ninety years, has just been subjected to a new threshing by Mr. William Henry Hoyt of Burlington, Vt., in a new book just issued by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

This is perhaps the most effective marshalling of the Anti-Declaration arguments which has yet been set in array. The memories of the Revolutionary fathers; the faded copies of old Carolina newspapers; the musty records of old-time courts; fragments of private correspondence, etc., etc., all are made to toe the line and stand for inspection.

As in a branch of mathematics lately much in vogue, the result is made to hinge upon the "probables" of the premises. As usual the battle rages fiercest around J. McKnitt Alexander. Did he know whereof he affirms? Or, knowing the story, did he tell the truth about those ancient doings? Is not the percentage of "Alexander" in the narrative out of all proportion to the simple facts of the history? Cannot the statements of the old men who were participants in the Charlotte meeting be invalidated, set aside, or explained away, in so far as they apply to the meetings of May 19th and 20th, 1775, and made to apply to the acknowledged meeting of May 31st, just eleven days later? This is the drift of Mr. Hoyt's argument for rejecting the Declaration of Independence of May 20th. That Mr. Hoyt has presented his data in the strongest *ad captandum* manner, we are ready to concede. He seems to have said the last word to be said from his side of the line. Unless new evidence can be introduced, the "Antis" had as well rest their case where this latest champion has left it.

But taking Mr. Hoyt's own concessions, he has left much to be explained away, *e. g.*, Why is there that general agreement among the old men who were participants in the Charlotte meeting, that the news of the battle of Lexington, April 19th, "*just one month before*," as the witnesses and old records testify, precipitated the meeting into its Declaration and other forward movements? How can this "*just one month*," so vividly impressed on those old narrators' minds, be made

to apply to a meeting of May 31st? "*Just one month*" was a fact contemporaneous with the meeting itself, and spoken of at the time, and noted by all those who were present. It was a salient point, a prominent feature, in their retrospect of that most noted event in their public careers.

Could they, after more than forty years, scattered as they were into several states, have simultaneously and then for the first time, recalled the fact that the Declaration meeting was held "just one month" after the battle of Lexington? Would those old patriots have remembered that "just one month" intervened, for the first time after more than four decades had passed? Surely this is asking us to believe a little too much. Those old fathers could only have thus remembered a date which had impressed itself upon them at the time of the event it had marked.

Mr. Hoyt and the "Antis" generally concede the fact of the meeting at Charlotte on May 31st, 1775—eleven days after the alleged Declaration was made. This was the "Resolves" meeting.

From the *South Carolina Gazette* of June 13th, 1775, the May 31st "Resolves" have been extracted. The account is headed:

"CHARLOTTE-TOWN, Mecklenburg County, May 31, 1775.

"This day the Committee of this County met, and passed the following Resolves, etc."

Then follow at length the *Twenty Resolves*. In the Preamble the Committee "conceive" that, by virtue of King George's Address to the parliament, declaring the Colonies in rebellion, "all royal laws and commissions are thereby annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitutions of these colonies are, for the present, wholly suspended." Therefore "we (the Committee) deem it proper and necessary to pass the following Resolves, viz.," etc.

This "COMMITTEE OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY" is one of the first objects to attract our attention. Who was, or were, this plenipotentiary "Committee" which thus meets and "RESOLVES" in this high-handed and authoritative manner? Surely, it was not self-appointed, self-chosen, acting on its own sweet, autocratic will? It does not deign to tell us of its own origin, nor of the source of its authority. It simply says: "We

conceive " laws, etc., to be suspended and " WE deem it proper to pass the following Resolves." Then those Twenty Resolves following make us hold our breath before that omnipotent " WE " Committee.

In Resolve I, all Crown commissions in the Colonies are declared " null and void," and " the constitution of each particular colony is wholly suspended." Say, Mr. Hoyt, is not that rather *long-distance* work, even for " WE " of Mecklenburg County, Province of North Carolina?

But Resolve II goes its predecessor still one better, for it declares each Provincial Congress as under direction of the Continental Congress, to be invested with all legislative and executive powers, and no other such powers do or can, exist, at this time, in any of these colonies. Verily we wonder what " WE " will do next.

Resolve III assumes " all laws *in this province* to be suspended," and " WE," therefore, " judge it necessary to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this country, etc." " WE " judge it necessary—IV—that the inhabitants of this county meet on a certain day appointed by THIS COMMITTEE, form themselves into nine companies, "chuse" a Colonel and other military officers " who shall hold their offices independent of the Crown of Great Britain, and former constitutions of this Province."

" WE " exercise not only military jurisdiction, but also civil prerogatives, for—V—" WE judge " that each of these nine companies " chuse " from its own body two magistrates whose jurisdiction " WE " define, and no appeal can be taken from these magistrates' decisions save to the Convention of Select-Men of the County.

VI " WE " order these two Select-Men, or magistrates, to appoint two constables to assist them.

VII " WE " order that either of these Select-Men, on any complaint, do issue his order to the Constable to bring the aggressor before him, or them, for trial. VIII " WE " order these eighteen Select-Men to meet quarterly to determine all cases, civil or criminal, all felons shall be imprisoned until the Provincial Congress shall provide laws for proceeding in such cases. (The first recognition thus far of the authority of the Provincial Congress).

IX The Select-Men shall " chuse " a clerk for recording, and for issuing warrants, etc.

X and XI, provide for the collection of debts, but XII orders all receivers and collectors of quit-rents, taxes, etc., to pay the same "to the *Chairman of this Committee*," and "WE" will disburse the same as the exigencies of the public may require. But no collectors shall proceed to their work *till they give this Committee* good and sufficient security for the faithful return of their collections, etc. XIII, XIV, and XV deal still further with the revenue matter. But XVI pronounces doom upon anyone who shall receive, or exercise, any commission from the Crown. Two Select-Men shall give such a delinquent an examining trial, then they may hold him in custody till "WE" meet, and "WE" will deal with the case as prudence may dictate. XVII Any person refusing obedience to OUR Resolves, shall be deemed equally criminal with offenders against Resolve XVI, *i. e.*, they shall be treated as traitors. XVIII provides that these "Resolves" shall be in full force till the Provincial Congress shall establish proper legislation; or the British parliament resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions to America. Then, "WE" may (?) return to the Motherfold. XIX orders the nine companies to procure arms and ammunition and hold themselves ready to act under the direction of the Provincial Congress and of *this Committee*.

XX appoints Col. Thos. Polk and Dr. Joseph Kennedy to purchase arms and ammunition for the county militia, and deposit the same in such place as "WE" may hereafter direct.

Signed by order of the Committee,

EPH. BREVARD, Clerk of Committee."

Here we have what the Anti-Declarationists would have us believe to be the beginning of the patriotic movement in North Carolina. It was these "Resolves" of a Committee, they say, which the moderns have mistaken for a Declaration of Independence.

The "Antis," self-complacent souls, seem well satisfied with their own absurdities.

They would have us believe that on that 31st of May, 1775, in Charlotte-Town, Mecklenburg County, N. C., there met a self-constituted Committee—that old *S. C. Gazette* does not mention anybody else as present—and proceeded to enact laws, civil and criminal, covering the highest functions of the state. The Committee provides for the choosing of executive officers, and constitutes itself into a supreme court, not only with appellate, but even with original jurisdiction; for it will investigate

charges of treason and other high misdemeanors, etc., etc. Has any one of our states, not under martial law, ever witnessed such a concentration of powers? By whom were these powers conferred? Our "Antis" have no answer. Did these Committeemen ride into Charlotte-Town that May morning, meet in the courthouse, and assume these imperial functions?

The *Gazette* calls them "*the Committee of Mecklenburg County.*" How did they get to be that "Committee?" The "Antis" will allow of no previous general meeting of the citizens which might have appointed such a Committee. It was simply a spontaneous—on the Committee's part—meeting; a relative without an antecedent; a cart without a horse, a tail *minus* a kite. *It was a Committee just because it was*; and no impudent questions should be asked about its origin.

And this Committee declares the Colonial laws and constitutions of Britain null and void, and proceeds to enact new laws, appoint new magistrates, and do all other things which a free and independent—Committee (?)—may of right do and ordain. Really, our "Anti" friends are taxing our credulity rather severely. Has such another Committee ever been heard of since the world began? It would "WHEREAS" Mecklenburg—and indeed all the Colonies—out from under the British crown; it would fashion Mecklenburg County per its own legal ideals, and then wait to see what the general Congress, or Mother Britain, would do in the premises. But seriously, does not this very Committee meeting of May 31st imply—even assume—a previous general meeting of Mecklenburg's citizens? It would be most absurd to suppose the Committee meeting of May 31st to be the beginning of the revolutionary movement. This Committee of Public Safety, the appointees of a previous general meeting of the citizens, meet on the 31st to formulate more specifically the laws for the county government, as provided for in the Declaration of eleven days before.

It has been argued by the Anti-Declarationists that the "Resolves" of May 31st constitute a virtual declaration of independence. It would be more proper to say that the "Resolves" *assume as their premises the fact of a Declaration already made.* Only thus can we account for the autocratic acts of this Committee. They proceed to their work, never questioning their own authority. Setting aside royal constitutions, laws, charters, etc., they coolly proceed to make a code of their own, a code absolute, not to be ratified by the people. Verily, we have here an *unborn-Melchizedek Committee*, without beginning of days or end of—*assurance.*

Would any colony have submitted to such self-constituted Czars? The only logical explanation of this Committee's action is, that the members, eighteen in number—two from each militia company—met, pursuant to their appointment at the *former* meeting—May 20th—to put into more tangible shape the legal functions assumed by the Declaration of eleven days before; for the Declaration itself was no more a working basis for legislative, executive and judicial action, than was that other more famous document of July 4, 1776. Under each a more specific enacting and codifying of laws was necessary—a reducing of the abstract into the concrete. For years the National Congress was busy with this concretizing of the Fourth of July Declaration. The Mecklenburg Committee had a much shorter, more temporary task, and completed its work in eleven days.

Without this preceding convention and Declaration behind them, the Committee's "Resolves" would pass into history as the quintessence of absurdity and presumption.

The Mecklenburg Declaration is charged with plagiarizing Jefferson's immortal paper of thirteen months later date. The phraseology of the two is, in some parts, strikingly alike. This is true; but it does not imply plagiarism on either side.

Much of this phraseology was a common heritage of English history. More than five centuries before, at the altar of St. Edmondsbury, the barons in revolt against King John had pledged to God and to one another their lives, fortunes and sacred honor, in language which became almost the stereotyped form for political covenants thereafter. The long-growing English Bill of Rights, with its setting of popular petitions and parliamentary enactments, contained the accepted form of statement for these cardinal principles of freedom and legislation for the rights of men. Jefferson, of course, was familiar with these forms of statement of the cardinal rights of man, and used them where they suited his purpose. Those old Presbyterians and Covenanters of Mecklenburg, whose great-grandfathers had had so much to do with the confirming of that Bill of Rights in the days of the Stuarts, also knew its provisions and its phraseology. There was no need for either Declaration to copy from the other. The "Antis" must produce much stronger evidence if they would shake our faith in the Mecklenburg Declaration.

H. A. SCOMP.

ALDERSON, W. VA.

WASHINGTON'S SOCIAL LIFE

TWO extremely interesting Washington relics were recently sold in Philadelphia for the record price of \$4,300. Both were autograph diaries, kept in two small books, the entries being made on the blank pages. The first, *The American Repository of Useful Information*, for 1795; the second, *Briggs' Virginia and Maryland Almanac for 1798*. They afford a perfect picture of Washington's daily life during these two years, especially his social engagements.

In the first volume Washington has written, from day to day under the various months, items which seemed to him of interest, especially noting the conditions of the weather on each day. His memoranda occur on fourteen different pages, besides various notes being made on the printed pages. From this we find that he left Philadelphia on the fourteenth of April for Mt. Vernon, reached Wilmington the same day, Baltimore on the sixteenth, Bladensburgh on the seventeenth, George Town on the eighteenth, and Mt. Vernon on the nineteenth, and remained there until the twenty-sixth, on which day he went to George Town, was in the Federal City on the twenty-seventh, arrived at Bladensburgh on the twenty-eighth, reached Baltimore on the twenty-ninth, Rogers' Susquehanna on the thirtieth, reached Wilmington on May the first, and arrived at Philadelphia on May the second. On July fifteenth left Philadelphia with Mrs. Washington and family for Mt. Vernon, dined at Chester, and lodged at Wilmington. On the sixteenth he breakfasted at Christiana, dined at Elkton, and lodged at Susquehanna, on account of one of his horses being overcome with heat. On the seventeenth he dined at Hartford, and lodged at Websters; on the eighteenth he breakfasted at Baltimore, dined and lodged at Spurriers, where his sick horse died; on the nineteenth he arrived at George Town, and on the twentieth, after attending to business with the Commissioners of the Federal City, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived home for dinner. On September the eighth he again left Philadelphia for Mt. Vernon, reaching Mt. Vernon on the thirteenth. On the twenty-fifth he went to Alexandria and dined with Mr. and Mrs. Lear, returning home on the twenty-sixth. On the thirteenth of October he again set out for Philadelphia, arriving there on the twentieth. For the month of November he makes the fol-

lowing note: "The whole month of November has been remarkable pleasant. The ground has never been frozen, but few white frosts and no snow." On the blank page for January his executor, Bushrod Washington, has written, under date of Mt. Vernon, second of July, 1827: "This Calendar contains, on many of its leaves, the autography of Genl. Washington and is presented to Mrs. Margaret Adams by the sincere friend of her son."

In the second volume, of forty-five closely-written pages, Washington has penned his remarks for each month and day of the year, with a very few exceptions. It is probably one of the most interesting diaries of his in existence, as his notes of his whereabouts for the whole year are very full. The diary dates from Mt. Vernon, and notes that on the third of January, 1798, Mrs. Lawrence Washington and Mr. Elliot went away after breakfast, and Mr. Washington and himself went to Alexandria and dined with Mr. Fitzhugh; on the eleventh Mr. Lear dined at Mt. Vernon; on the fifteenth he went to Alexandria to a meeting of the stockholders of that bank to an election of directors; on the twenty-fourth Mr. John Hopkins and Mr. Hodget stayed to dinner; on February the first Mr. Ladd and Mr. Gibbs, of Rhode Island, dined; on the third Mr. Adamson, of Hamburgh, and Dr. (David) Stuart came to dinner; on the fourth Mr. Craig and Mr. Marshall dined with him; on the seventh he went to a meeting of the Potomac Company of George Town, and dined at Colonel Fitzgerald's; on the eighth he visited the public buildings, and met the Commissioners at the Union Tavern, and dined there; on the twelfth he went with his family to a ball at Alexandria, given by the citizens of it in its vicinity, in commemoration of the anniversary of his birthday; on the fourteenth Mr. Alexander Spotswood and wife, and Mr. Fielding Lewis and Mr. Lear, came to dinner; on the fifth of March Dr. Stuart left Mt. Vernon to accompany Washington Custis to St. John's College at Annapolis; on the tenth Robert Beverly dined with him, and Mr. and Mrs. Peter and Nelly Custis came after dinner; on the nineteenth he dined with Mrs. Washington at Mr. Thomson Mason's; on the twentieth Mr. Lawrence Washington, of Capanck, and Mr. Lawrence Washington, of Belmont, dined with him; on the thirty-first Mr. Teiot, a French gentleman, recommended by Count de Rochambeau, dined, and a Mr. Freeman, member of Congress from New Hampshire, came in the afternoon; on April the first Mr. Law, Mr. Taylor, and Lieutenant Walton, of the Navy, dined; on the thirteenth General Lee came to dinner, and Colonel Heath and son in the

afternoon; on the sixteenth he went to Alexandria to an election of delegates of the County of Fairfax, voted for Mr. West and Mr. Herbert; on the twenty-seventh Mr. Gham, a Swedish gentleman, came to dinner; on the thirtieth Mr. Craig and son, Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Jennifer and a Miss Barnes, came to dinner; on the eighth of May he received a visit from the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Connecticut; on the nineteenth he and Mrs. Washington set out for a visit to Hope Park and the Federal City; on the twenty-ninth he went to Alexandria to attend to business; on the thirteenth he received a visit from Colonel Morris, lady and family; on the thirty-first the Rev. Mr. Addison, and Mr. Rogers, of Baltimore, called; on June the third Mr. Law and a Polish gentleman, the companion of General Kosciuszko, came to dinner; on the third Mr. and Mrs. McClanahan dined; on the thirteenth Mr. Fitzhugh, lady and daughter, and Mrs. Beverly Randolph, dined; on the twenty-sixth Mr. Law and two French gentlemen, Mr. Le Guin and Mr. Clarmont, called; July the fourth went to the celebration of the anniversary of Independence, and dined in the Spring Gardens, near Alexandria, with a large company of the civil and military of Fairfax County; on the eighth Mr. and Mrs. Potts, Miss Fitzhugh, Mr. Conway, Miss Brown, Mr. William Wilson, and Mr. Ramsay dined; on the eleventh Mr. McHenry, Secretary of War, came in the evening, and left on the fourteenth; on the fifth of August Washington Custis arrived from College; on the nineteenth Colonel Simms and lady dined; on the twentieth he makes the following note: "No acc't kept of the Weather and etc. from hence to the end of the Month on acc't of my Sickness which commenced with a fever on the nineteenth and lasted until the 24th, which left me debilitated." On the third of September General Marshall and Mr. Bushrod Washington came to breakfast, after which he received a call from General Lee; on the thirteenth Mrs. Fairfax and daughter dined; on the twentieth he went to the Federal City and dined at Mr. Thomas Peters; on the twenty-first he examined, in company with the Commissioners, some of the lots in the vicinity of the Capitol, and fixed upon No. 16 in 634 to build on, dined and lodged at Mr. Laws'; on the twenty-second he came home with Mr. Thomas Peters' wife to Mt. Vernon; on the sixth of October Bushrod Washington and Captain Blackburn dined; on the twenty-sixth Governor Crawford and lady, of Bermuda, dined. On the fifth of November set out on a journey for Philadelphia with his secretary, Mr. Lear, and was met by a party of horse and escorted to the ferry at George Town, where he was received with military honors; on the seventh arrived at Baltimore, and

dined at Webster's, and lodged at Hartford; met at Spurriers by the Baltimore Horse, and escorted in and out by the same, and viewed a brigade of militia at Baltimore; on the ninth breakfasted at Wilmington, dined and lodged at Chester, where he was met by several troops of Philadelphia Horse, and on the eleventh, with this escort, arrived in Philadelphia about nine o'clock, and was received by the General McPherson Blues and was escorted to his lodgings on Eighth Street (Mrs. White's) by them and the Horse. On the twelfth and thirteenth he dined at his own lodgings, receiving many visitors; on the fourteenth he dined at Major Jackson's; on the fifteenth he dined with Tench Francis; on the sixteenth he dined with the Secretary of the Treasury; on the seventeenth he dined at Mr. Willing's; on the nineteenth he dined with Bishop White; on the twentieth he dined with the Secretary of War; on the twenty-first he dined with Major Reed; on the twenty-second he dined at Major Bingham's; on the twenty-third he dined with Mr. Samuel Meredith; on the twenty-fourth he dined with the Secretary of State; on the twenty-sixth he dined with the President of the United States; on the twenty-seventh he dined with Mr. Morris; on the twenty-eighth he dined with Judge Peters; on the twenty-ninth he dined with a British Minister; on the thirtieth he dined with Governor Mifflin; on December the first he dined with Mr. Rawle, and from then on until the thirteenth he dined at his lodgings, when he set out for Mt. Vernon. On Christmas General Pinckney, lady and daughter came to dinner, and Captain John Spotswood in the afternoon, etc.

On the last page Judge Bushrod Washington has inscribed, July 4, 1827: "This Almanac contains, on many of its pages, the autography of General George Washington, and is presented to Robt. Adams, Esq., of Phila., by his sincere friend."

This diary or almanac contains almost a complete account, day by day of the state of the weather and of occurrences in the life of General Washington, in his own handwriting, for one whole year.

S. V. HENKELS.

PHILADELPHIA.

ANN PAMELA CUNNINGHAM, "THE SOUTHERN
MATRON"

ANN PAMELA CUNNINGHAM was a daughter of South Carolina. Her home "Rosemont" was the focus of elegance and refinement, "where she reigned supreme, dominating all by her independence of thought and act—self-reliant and talented," writes one who knew her in health and youth and prosperity as well as in her days of illness and misfortune.

It was upon a clear moonlight night in 1853 that the mother of Miss Cunningham passed by Mount Vernon. The steamer's bell tolled out its requiem to the dead hero, whose resting-place, even under the moonlight, revealed only neglect and desolation. Reflecting sadly upon this melancholy scene as it faded in the distance, Mrs. Cunningham realized that unless some immediate effort were made for the preservation of this sacred spot utter ruin would result. But where should the effort begin? Thinking intently—suddenly, came the inspiration, "Let the women of America own and preserve Mount Vernon!"

When Miss Cunningham read the letter from her mother containing the proposition she said, "I will do it."

At this time Miss Cunningham was confined to her room a helpless invalid, whose lack of physical strength was compensated by strength of mind and great intellectual ability, accompanied by an enthusiastic, sympathetic nature which accepted no discouragement or rebuff.

When this delicate, sensitive woman declared, "I will do it!" her friends sought, by reason and ridicule, to dissuade her from so wild an undertaking.

Her answer was the letter addressed through our journals to the "Women of America"—an earnest stirring appeal to their patriotism, urging them to unite in an effort for the rescue and preservation of this neglected home, this forgotten grave—to make of Mount Vernon a shrine sacred to the memory of the Father of his Country.

[We condense this story of a remarkable woman and her great achievement, from the booklet recently issued by the Mount Vernon Association.—Ed.].

But so great was her shyness and timidity as to lead her to insist upon concealing her identity during the four years of her unceasing efforts under the nom-de-plume of "The Southern Matron."

This initiatory letter was followed by others in quick succession. A newspaper, *The Mount Vernon Record*, was published monthly, giving details of the progress in collecting funds, of the public meetings, private entertainments, and the general and increasing interest shown.

It was 1853 that she founded "The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association." She writes: "When I started the Mount Vernon movement it was a Southern affair altogether. My appeal was to Southern ladies. The intention was simply to raise \$200,000; give it to Virginia, to hold title to and purchase 200 acres of the Mount Vernon property, including the mansion and tomb—Virginia to keep it for a public resort. The ladies to have it in charge and adorn it if they could have the means." A charter was drawn up and presented to Mr. John Augustine Washington, the owner of Mount Vernon. He refused to agree to this charter. All efforts were for the time paralyzed.

The Northern press now began to notice the movement, but condemned the sectional reserve, claiming that the effort should be a National one, and offering the aid of the Northern States. So great was the clamor that Miss Cunningham yielded, and at once began to extend the powers of the Association by the appointment of ladies as Vice-Regents from each State in the Union, with full powers to appoint committees in their respective States for the purpose of raising money.

"The Southern Matron," as Regent, was to be the head of the Association. But so extensive a work was necessarily slow in organizing. The difficulty of interesting the people was most discouraging. But in 1855 Philadelphia awoke; great enthusiasm prevailed; clubs were formed; boxes for contributions were allowed in Independence Hall; hope revived;—when suddenly the leading men in Philadelphia refused any support to the movement, "because it was a woman's effort, and they disapproved of women mixing in public affairs"! Again discouragement,—but no halt in the onward course of these patriotic women, who fought on against the tide, inspired by their untiring leader.

On the 19th of March, 1856, when in Richmond to deliver his great eulogy on Washington, Edward Everett first met Miss Cunningham. So powerful and convincing was her eloquence, so earnest her patriotism,

that when she begged him to aid her he responded by pledging to consecrate his orations henceforth to the Mount Vernon cause. He proved its Providence, giving his great talents, his time, his influence to the scheme, until he placed in the hands of Miss Cunningham, as the result of his exertions, the sum of \$69,064.

Mr. Washington had agreed to part with the 200 acres demanded for the sum of \$200,000; but upon the new charter being offered him, he refused positively to accept its provisions! Thus once again fell the dark cloud of disappointment upon the work.

With the refusal to sell came the refusal of the public to give. Contributions ceased. Distrust and suspicion of the integrity of the Association were freely expressed by the press. Despair fell upon the brave women who were engaged in the work. What to do, where to turn for assistance in this emergency, how to avoid complete failure how to induce Mr. Washington to part with his historic acres, were questions asked, but unanswered.

Again Miss Cunningham said, "I will do it!" How she did it, how remarkable was her success, how great the difficulties presented, her eloquent pen describes in the following letter:

" . . . Of course we could do nothing with the public when they believed Mr. Washington would not sell. I proposed to go to Mount Vernon and charm the bear (as I thought him then). Mr. Everett urged this. I had not for many years been on a railroad—the motion made me ill. But I found I could get to Baltimore by canalboat, from whence the railroad ride would be short. Arrived at Mount Vernon, I was carried in a chair to the house on an awfully hot day in June. I saw the family; was received kindly,—but all my arguments failed, though Mr. Washington promised to meet me in Washington.

When I got to the wharf the boat had gone and left me! We could just see it. I was put into a sail boat and towed into the stream, expecting to catch the mail boat, but waited in vain. When I got back to the bank I was nearly dead. But the moment I saw I was left, I said, 'Mount Vernon is saved!' I was carried down to the parlor at night. I talked pleasantly, telling of various incidents connected with Mr. Everett and his Washington lecture, and enlightened the family in a roundabout way as to our proceedings and the interest felt. I could see their amazement. It was a side of the shield they had not seen. I felt I had gained *Mrs.* Washington.

I shook hands with Mr. Washington; told him it was leap-year, women were bound to have their way. He might resist with all his might, but I knew I was to be victor, and must counsel him to follow the example of his illustrious ancestor, who never acted on a grave affair without having slept on it. Next morning I had a regular talk. The spirit moved me as never before. I never spoke to mortal as I spoke to him. I told him the isles of the sea would send their tributes for Mount Vernon; that he would live to see it, though I would not. (We both did, for Havana and the Sandwich Islands both sent contributions.)

When I saw I could not shake his resolution against allowing Virginia to buy Mount Vernon, for he was very indignant at that, and considered it would be mean for Virginia to accept the purchase money, I went so far as to point to him the light in which coming generations would view his conduct in preventing our tribute to Washington. I told him his descendants would mourn having descended from him, and I dared say this because I felt that I, by starting this movement, had been instrumental in placing him in this unpleasant position. He thanked me; said he knew it; but he was as firm as a rock; though he was deeply moved. I could see that he realized his real attitude, and felt it sorely.

The carriage was waiting—I had to go—the cause was gone! I turned to him, mournfully expressed my grief, but said that I could not leave him without putting myself in proper position. I told him I knew the public had behaved abominably toward him; that the Virginia Legislature had done so also, in framing a charter contrary to the terms he had expressed himself willing to accept; that, apprehensive of this, I had tried to get the address of the Governor, to find in what way he intended to present the subject to the Legislature. The Governor was travelling in West Virginia, and could not be communicated with in time,—thus we had lost eighteen months in inaction and delay. Could I have succeeded, matters would have taken a different form. That as soon as I saw a draft of the charter I realized that it was not what would be agreeable to Mr. Washington. I assured him that I believed all the ladies concerned felt as I did. While we wished to succeed in our beautiful tribute, we were grieved that his feelings were hurt—insulted—so repeatedly because of it. I looked up to him as I said this. What a change in his face!

Unawares I had at last touched the 'sore spot'—the obstacle no money could have removed.

I now found that he believed the whole thing had been arranged between the Association and Virginia to put an indignity upon him!

His feelings were wounded, goaded; and lo! in explaining *my* feelings I had shown *him* his error.

I then told him if he would consent to overcome minor objections, that I would prove to the country the position of the Association by going before the next Legislature and asking it to make any change he required; but he must let the Association pay the money, and not feel that his State or himself were lowered by the act.

I held out my hand—he put his in mine; then, with quivering lips, moist eyes, and a heart too full to speak, our compact was closed in silence.

None but God can know the mental labor and physical suffering Mount Vernon has cost me!

It was all important to get Mr Washington's consent. Many disappointments followed. It was January, 1857, before anything was done. By this time the whole subject had passed from public interest, for he had extinguished fires it took hard work to rekindle.

Our position was painful: the public felt itself deceived—was not willing to give without a surety. Our first charter made payment to Mr. Washington depend on the success of the Association; he required that Virginia should pay him. How were we to get Virginia to do this for us, risk her chance of being paid, unless we had money enough beforehand to justify her confidence?

Well, with stout hearts we set to work. I had been moved from Philadelphia to Charleston, October, 1856, on an air-bed.

In March, 1857, we started interest again in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama; but it took time. Old Charleston city awoke. The Fourth of July was set apart for contributions. Her noblest citizens formed a band to remain in the City Hall during the day to receive contributions. I was proud.

The ball was now rolling; the action of Charleston had started the country, and we had high hopes of going on swimmingly in the autumn. Mr. Washington had declared that the matter must be decided at the meeting of the next Legislature, so we were under whip and spur.

In September came the panic of 1857. This was a blow. Failure stared us in the face. It was our extremity.

Mr. Everett came to the rescue. He spoke in all the important towns in every state. I was in desperate health, but to Richmond I must go. Our charter required that the Association should prepare a constitution. I had to go on to present this, but there were doubts whether I should live to get there. A clause was inserted in the constitution to empower 'The Southern Matron' to appoint her successor, in case she died before the organization was completed.

Starting the last week in December, 1857, after two hours of the journey I began to sink, and until we reached Wilmington, North Carolina, I was held by an open window to be able to breathe. Suffice it to say, I reached Richmond alive, but I have never been the same person since this journey and the wear and tear of that winter's campaign. I was allowed but little time to rest, for we had too little money and must make it up by woman's influence. I was very low physically, but my spirit seemed to soar on wings.

The action of Charleston had aroused the nation, and many people came to see me. The Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Virginia was my first visitor; then came different committees. Each one must hear the tale of the Mount Vernon Association, its origin, trials, and the scene with Mr. Washington; few dry eyes left my room.

Before a month had passed all Richmond was excited as never before. We gained friends so fast, it was said we 'bewitched the men.' This excited the ire of Mr. Pryor, M. C., who with a most plausible article in the paper warned the Legislature not to be carried out of its propriety by sentiment and female witchery—to look to the purse of the Association. He stated, 'though the ladies acted in good faith, they could not get money unless the people gave it; and if Virginia paid Mr. Washington as he required, the public would be very indifferent about bestowing money to refund Virginia after they had got their object, viz.: Mount Vernon.'

There was truth in this, and it acted like magic. I was called upon to answer this immediately.

The reply I made created intense excitement.

In next day's paper Mr. Pryor replied, and yielded in a gallant

spirit, *apparently*; but he was so enraged that he swore he would defeat the Association.

Pryor did defeat us.

We lost our bill!

But I had a stronghold in the heart of John A. Washington, and he had written me months before that he was determined to show me how much he appreciated my patriotism. I did not understand the purport of these words then; but when defeat came I sent to beg Mr. Washington to come to me, for I hoped to prove to him that we should succeed if he would trust us and give us time.

He came at once to tell me that we should have the title. He told me, too, that he knew when the money crash came (1857) that we could not succeed. He told me enough to let me see that what he did was to gratify me.

I suppose he felt that if we failed no harm was done, as Mount Vernon would still be his.

We soon entered another bill, and carried it by acclamation March 19, 1858.

But the wear and tear of the long struggle had been too much for me, and on the day appointed by Mr. Washington for the lawyers and the two Vice-Regents to meet and witness the signing of the papers in my room, I awoke with a struggle for breath and passed from one convulsion to another for hours.

The friends were horrified for fear that I should die before all was signed.

After the lawyers had waited a long time, and even offered to postpone and leave, my system was calmed.

One of their number was sent to see if I was of sound mind!

All the papers were read in due form, and then a gentleman knelt beside my couch and held the papers for my signature; my lifeless fingers could hold a pen but a few moments; could only make two or three letters at a time. Finally all was gotten through with, and the papers with my fearful scrawl carried to the archives of the State.

I was in a mental stupor for three weeks!

Has not Mount Vernon been bought with a price? "

Miss Cunningham did not remain in a condition of mental stupor longer than the period to which she refers. No one realized so well as she that, with the signing of the contract which gave the Association the ownership, under the conditions of the charter of Mount Vernon, the larger work of restoration and repair must begin. She soon roused herself from temporary inaction, and early in 1858 issued an appeal in which she announced that Mount Vernon had now, through the women of America, become the property of the Nation.

In conclusion, Miss Cunningham called upon the people of the Nation "to vie one with another, which will give most and do most to enable us on the 22d of February, 1859, to take possession of the home and the grave of him who loved the people of all the States—and thus make his birthday the birthday also of Republican gratitude, justice, and fraternal love."

This document was the first signed by her name, all previous papers having been signed by her pen-name, "The Southern Matron." On this occasion she yielded to the solicitation of Mr. Everett and other friends.

(To be continued.)



A MEMORY OF ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT: ORIGINAL PAPERS

This interesting collection of papers, bearing upon troubles in the Northwest Territory at a period when it was still under dispute between England and the United States, was found by Indians on the body of General Richard Butler, Commandant at Fort Pitt, after he was killed in St. Clair's defeat in Ohio, 1791. For one hundred and fifteen years they were carefully preserved by the Indians, until recently, when they were offered for sale. They came into the possession of Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit, in a wrapper inscribed: "These papers and letters were obtained by me from Joseph Warrow, he claiming to be chief of the Wyandottes near Amherstburg." (Canada)—and by Mr. Burton are communicated to the MAGAZINE.—[ED.]

DIRECTIONS TO DAVID MEAD,¹ ESQR.

9th May, 1791.

Sir:—Having received Two speeches, one from General Knox,² and one from Governor St. Clair,³ directed to the Senecas and six Nations; and considering them of the most infinite importance, you will therefore proceed immediately to the Cornplanters⁴ Town, gether the Chiefs & warriors most contegious, read the Speeches to them, & then deliver them up to the Chiefs—Should the Head Chiefs be at Catarogas you had better proceed to that place—

for your Service you shall receive one dollar pr day till you return—you will imploy Elijah Matthews as an interpreter whom I will pay—you shall be allowed all necessary expenses—but in order not to run the public to needless expense, I expect you will lose no time in accomplishing the business.

I am Sr your humble Servant,

J. JEFFERS,⁵ Ensn.

Commddg.

To DAVID MEAD, Esq.

¹ David Mead, first settler of Meadville, Pa.

² Gen. Henry Knox, then Secretary of War.

³ Gen. Arthur St. Clair, the unfortunate soldier who fought with Amherst at Louisburg, with Wolfe at Quebec; and who was made, in 1789, Governor of the Northwest Territory.

⁴ Corn Planter, the celebrated Seneca Indian chief.

⁵ Ensign Jeffers, subordinate of Gen. Butler and stationed at Fort Franklin.

FORT FRANKLIN, 12th MAY, 11 O'CLOCK, A. M., 1791.

Sir:—There is a runner this moment arrived from Cunniat informing me that there is three hundred Chipaways absolutely gone out for war—whether they will strike here or on the Settlement near Pittsburgh he cannot tell. I thought it my duty to let you know in order that the people may be on their guard—he further says that there is 1000 from about Detroit that will soon go to war—he says the Indians are absolutely determined for war—for my part I am afraid that Col. Procter will never reach Fort Washington. If the Genl. thinks proper to write me I wish Sergt. Bissell might be employed, for in case of danger he will stay with me as a volunteer till it is over.

I am Dear Sir your
Humble Servant,
J. JEFFERS.

The Hon. B. Genl. BUTLER,
Pittsburgh.
pr. Sergt. BISSELL.

16th May, 1791.

Sir:—Agreeable to your Instructions of the 9th Inst. I proceeded to the Onesadage & Shinnishangohto Towns, with several Messages to the Six Nations of Indians, Viz. one from the Secretary at War, one from the Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, and one from yourself, Together with a Proclamation of the Governor of Pennsylvania and after having assembled the Chiefs & Warriors most Convenient, then & there did Cause said Messuages in due order to be explained to them who Discovered great marks of their Approbation and Instantly send off runners to the Other Towns when the Chiefs Promised that as soon as Possible their Answer should be forwarded to you.

In the meantime the Chiefs Informed me they had Information that a Body of Bad Indians about 400, were preparing to strike your Garrison; after this Information I thought it my duty to return as fast as possible, tho' they Pressed me hard to Stay another Day, that they might have time to make more Friendly preparations in the Provision way, when I returned them many thanks and Bid them Farewell—and have this moment returned.

I am Sir your humble Servant,
DAVID MEAD.

Lieut. JEFFERS.

FORT FRANKLIN, 25th MAY, 1791.

Sir:—I saw by General St. Clair's speech to the Indians that you was to conduct the business relative to the Indians assisting the Americans should an expedition go out this Summer, of course I thought proper to report to you what I had done. I considered the speeches of the greatest importance, & for fear of some treachery in reading them I employed David Mead Esq. to go and read them—my directions to him & his report to me I inclose to the Genl. Col. Procter having this morning arrived at the Garrison, on his way to Fort Pitt—he can tell you more than I can write.

I am Dear Genl. your
very humble Servt.
J. JEFFERS Ens'n
Commdg.

B. Genl. R. BUTLER.

FORT FRANKLIN 28 June 1791.

Honourd Sir:—The bearer Thomas Ray is one of the persons who was taken by the Indians at Copewagoc on the Sixth of May last, they carried him through the Indian country to the Miami Villages, and Detroit, where he was liberated, by Brant and McKee. As he brings News of very considerable importance, I have thought proper to send him on to Fort Pitt immediately, that you may have an opportunity of examining him yourself. This post, from what he says, seems to be a principal object with them. I have sent Christian hantz, one of Mr. Jeffers' men, with him, to assist him in going down, who if you think proper, may be ordered back immediately.

On the evening of the 24th Instants, Cyoindoe, the Cornplanter's Nephew, arrived here, he was sent by his Uncle to inform me, that your letters and Speeches had arrived there in good time, that they were read in Council, that there was about Eighty young Warriors present. who were all determined to join us, that two runners were immediately after sent off with them to Buffaloe Creek, and desired to deliver them to Coll. Pickren ¹ (who is there) and request him to read them to the Indians & that the Cornplanter; with his men would be here in a few days, when I hope to have it in my power to transmit to you their answers to some letters. On the Night of the 25th one of our Sentries saw two Indians in pursuit of the Horses belonging to the Inhabitants; as the Indians was very drunk, and none of the horses missing I did not credit the report,

¹ Timothy Pickering.

but the next morning they were again seen and spoken to, by another of our Indians, at a Spring about half a Mile from the Garrison, in consequence of which, I ordered a few bells to be put on the horses, and in the evening, after dark, I took twelve of my best men, and formed a chain of Sentinals round the horses, with orders to lay down flat on their bellies; in this Situation we remained all night, expect the rascals would make another attempt, however they did not come and I have reason to believe they are gone down towards Fort Pitt.

Please to present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Butler and Miss Smith and believe me to be

Sir

Your most obedient Hum^{le} Servt,
JACOB SLOUGH.²

Major Genl Rich^d Butler Esqr
Fort Pitt.

OBEALS TOWN 4th July 1791.

" A copy of a Speach Sent to Cohocto where the council is held.

The chiefs Newarrow & the Sachems and war chiefs from Cadraearas & this place their Speech to colonel Pickering and their Brothers the chiefs and warriors of the 5 nations now Supposed to be in council at the painted Post."

Brothers our Father Mr. Debartzchi Tiawamas Big Tree was sent to us with a message from Fort Pitt, the letter was sent by Buffalow creek and unluckely was Sent to Niagara our Brothers are impatient to hear our determination whether we intend to get and Goin them to make peace with the western nations. Now I speak to my Brothers the Sachems of the five nations as if our Maker would have it that the Sachems should Speak to their Warriors and ill minded people and to keep them at peace if in their power and desire that the chiefs will consider and give them an answer as soon as possible.

Brothers the mad captain Brant³ that was sent to make peace with the western nations, Instead of peace has taken up the Tomahawk, it is our desire that you now will endeavour to take it out of his hand that we may enjoy a peace. Now head chiefs of the five nations, it is by you he

² Jacob Slough, commandant at Venango.

³ Captain Brant—Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief.

was sent and appointed to make a peace, but much to the reverse and our great ruin, if your chiefs do not exert yourselves and take the Tomahawk out of his hands before it is too late. Now consider that there is only five nations and your and yours are allways at council and we chiefs and warriors from this place have Sit Silent for some time—we now ask it of you to do all lays in your power to give an answer, which may be for the good of us all and do not be long about it as every hour is a day to us at present.

Now we Speek to our Brother Colonel Pickering who is sent to Speek to us by the great chief of the Island General Washington for him to ask the chiefs of the five nations their minds, let it be good or bad not to hide and let him know whether they are inclined for a peace and let us do it in time as for us here have already determined as our minds are clear and think of nothing but what we hope to be for the good of our Selves our children and your children and we are now ready to get up so that they may live after us, as our own lives are but so let us consider and to set them in peace before we leave them—we are anxious to hear the news in council which will make us entirely happy if we have only one of their comming & we hope that Col. Pickering our Brother will receive the bearer Mr. Rosecrantz as our friend and we are convinced that he has a desire to do all the good he can for our nations & the United States and we wait with anxiety for an answer from our Brother & chiefs of our nation & him to return to us to this place with the answer so that the chiefs & Mr. De Bartzchi may return.

JOHN X ABEAL BIG X TREE HALF X TOWN.
CANA X WAGANDOW, JOHN X DICKERT.

HIS
NEW X ARROW
MARK

CAPT. OBEL TOWN, Juillet 5th, 1791.

Sir:—I received the honor of yours the 3d of this instant, favor of Mr. Moltreonsis; I am very glad to have Mr. Lord for my company to assist me to copy the Speech from the chiefs and other news in favor of the States or against the States; Mr. Rosecrantz my friend arrived at this town the 2d of this instant and came from Buffaloe Creek in trading business; the chiefs of those towns asked him what news his hearing of the part the came from he answered this viz

June 24 last I arrived at buffaloe creek the chief Onandagay en-

quired, there was news came to them by 2 letters from fort Pitt which they not yet knew the contents of; But that the said letter was directed to the chief & warriors of the different tribes, the said letter was handed to one Mr. Cornelius Virnney a trader of Buffaloe creek who told the chief that the letters was of such consequence to the nation that the Indian Runner must proceed with the letter to the commanding officer of Niagara, who would let them know the contents of it Mr. Virnney told me the 2d letter was an invitation for the Five Nations to rise up and join the Americans in a war against the western nations & that Mr. De Bartzchi the frenchman was mentioned in one letter and advise the Indians to rise up to come with him at the order of General St. Clair, the said Mr. Virnney said that capt. Jos. Brant sent a letter to the commanding officer at Niagara mentioned that he was in council at the Miami town with all the principal chiefs of the western tribes and was in a fair way to bring the nation to Peace. But while they were at counsel there came in a Runner from the Ohio, and told the Americans had already crossed the Ohio and advanced towards their towns, then the chiefs &c told to Captain Brant the Americans were not for peace, or they would not send an army; So immediately the war hatchet was handed about to the chiefs & warriors of different tribes & accepted and the last it was handed to Captain Brant, he saw there was no other way for him to save his life But to accept the former and to rise up & take the command of fifteen hundred warriors; as you are acquainted to the wares & customs of the white people and Indians &c &c. I excepted But to the greatest of my displeasures. The commanding officer of Niagara send advice to the chiefs & warriors of the five nations not to detain themselves long with colonel Pickering at the painted post, but to make the business as short as possible and to be cautious as he expicted that colonel Pickering would offer them the war hatchet & for them not to touch it and to return as quick as possible; that the Superintendant of Indian affairs Sir John Johnson from Montreal was comming and desired to see them all in council at Buffaloe creek to renew friendship & large quantity of goods is to be delivered to them as costumary from their Brethren the British; after hearing the above news I got my friend Rosecrantz in a private council and advised him to assist me in the Business to advise the five nations to be friends to the Americans, their Brothers, chiefs & Warriors of the five nations, the said Mr. Rosecrantz gave me his word and honor he would accept my advice and immediately declared to all the chiefs and Warriors he was turned to my Sentiments and advises them to rise up

according to the desires of Governor St. Clair then the chiefs was very well pleased to have me and him to be their friends &c; the next day the chiefs Send for Mr. Rosecrantz and desires him to bring the news & their last determination to their Brothers at the place where he shall find them returned from the Treaty of Colonel Pickering or their is yet to Suppose; and to the said Rosecrantz to advise their Brothers the five nations to rise up accordingly of their Speech would send the copy to you by captain half town Mr. Samuel Lord took the trouble to copy it and was present at the said council with the interpreter Malhouse; we told to the old of the Counsel that the Brittish will endeavour to prevent the five nations to be our friends with the Americans; and their interest is not to pay attention to all of the advice of the Brittish as it will be the last for ever of the five nations, if they not comply with the invitation of the Americans and their offers to friendship for ever for their children & children &c &c.

Please the commanding officer to receive the compliments of Captain obel, he recollect to have seen you at the negro dans and hopes to see you soon as possible to him and the other of his Brother chiefs & warriors, he thanks you for your kindness to make his rifle &c mended and paid by you, the liquors Send by you & col. Mackaylay, he received with a great deal of pleasure, and give cheers to me and to the chiefs wishing your health and Col. Mackaylay wishing peace and plenty.

Please Sir to believe me with respect,
Your most humble Sérvant,
DQ: DE BARTZCHI.

To Capt. JACOB SLOUGH,
commd. fort Franklin.

P. S.—please to send the letter and the Speech of the Indian to General Butler if you think proper.

I left at Lieutenant Jeffers' Rooms one portemantel Red Leather. I pray you to have your Servant to see it in a good place it got property and could not stand in a damp place. D. B.

1791 Juillet 5.

CAPT. OBEL TOWN.

Sir:—After my letters & Speech wrote to capⁿ. obel desire me to inform you that the bearer Captain half town and some of his warriors was going at your fort & a Bear hunting to be ready to Rise up as soon,

I shall bring the news of their Brothers chiefs at the painted post or in their journey towards their family; the advice of captain obel to all his Brothers is to be friends to the American and wish you to be so kind as to use them in friendship the intention must be good to the American & &.

I remain your most humble Servant,
DE BARTZCHI.

Excuse my bad ortography I pray you to
help the writing.

FORT WASHINGTON, July 6th, 1791.

Dear Sir:—I have now to acknowledge the honor of your Letter of the 22d of last month which was delivered by Captain Kirkwood on the 3d instant. I am very much concerned to observe that you have been so ill—it was the first intimation I had had of it and it is my sanguine Wish and Hope that you are perfectly recovered.

By the Return of Troops arrived at Fort Pitt, which you enclosed I find that all but Armstrongs and Kirkwood's Companies which we have, and three Companies at Pittsburgh, are dispersed along the frontier.

It is unnecessary to make any observations on the Disposition, as no doubt, you had very good Reasons for it, and as I presume they must have been called in and collected to some Point, those at least upon the Upper Frontier before this can reach you, but I have been, and still am in great want of a part of them here. Should anything have happened to prevent those having been drawn together, you will please to order it immediately, and send them forward to this place without loss of time. Those who are Pittsburgh you give me reason to expect in the Course of a Week—for those who are on the frontier below that it will be best to send Boats to some proper Places for their respective embarkations.

It would give me much pleasure to have your Assistance here, but as the public Interest may be best served by your remaining where you are until the Troops, Stores etc. are generally . . . I will not only not direct it otherwise, but I will request you to remain there until those objects are generally accomplished—but I do not mean, and I hope you will not understand this as an order for your remaining there until the very last are acheally arrived. Circumstances may happen to retard

the arrival of a small part of them considerably, and it would not be fitting that you should be detained on that Account, and in that Case I have the most perfect confidence that the necessary and proper Orders will be left for them.

It was to be expected that the number of Troops deemed necessary would not be raised and got forward within the time proposed; and as I wish very much not to be encumbered with Militia, I am much pleased that the Secretary of War has authorised you to raise a Battallion in the Upper Country. I think you will be able to do it, tho' you will be at some loss for proper subjects for officers; but your general acquaintance with the People will put it in your power more than any other Person to make the best Selection.

I have written to the Quarter Master to come on immediately—if his Business at Pittsburgh is not accomplished he must appoint some Person to do it for him, but his presence here can be no longer dispensed with.

Captain Slough I see is at Fort Franklin and I have heard that Mr. Jeffers is at Pittsburgh—when I desired you to send him back and order the levy Officer to put himself under his command it was upon the presumption that you had sent a subaltern there. I am still very anxious that Mr. Jeffers should keep the command at that Place as he is very acceptable to the Senecas. You will please therefore to order him back with a detachment of twenty Men from Captⁿ. Shaylor's company or any other of the second Regiment, and bring Captain Slough away; for, tho' he is a very good young Man, he has not steadiness enough for a command of that nature. I fear however this intimation will come too late and that you have already taken some Measures that cannot so well be altered without the appearance of fickleness.

My health, I thank you, is perfectly established, and I hope soon to have the same account of yours. With my best complements to Mrs. Butler, and with great regard for you

I am

Dear Sir

Your very humble Servant,

AR. ST. CLAIR.

Major General BUTLER.

NEWTOWN,¹ STATE OF NEW YORK, July 18, 1791.

Sir:—The treaty with the Six Nations was held at this place, and not at the Painted Post. To-day they set off for their own countries. Old Cayashota requests me to inform you that he cannot go to fort Pitt this summer, but means to make a visit in the fall.

The Five Nations present appear firmly resolved on Peace with the U States & alike refused to steer clear of the western war.

I am in great haste

Sir

Hour most obedt Servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Major Gen. BUTLER,
Fort Pitt.

PITTSBURGH 22 July 1791.

Honourd Sir:—In consequence of the Instructions which I had the honour to receive from you dated the 9th of June last, I marched on the 10th with the Detachments under my command for Venango Fort Franklin and arrived there on the 13th in the Evening, my men were much fatigued in consequence of the Flesh part of their rations (which was fresh) spoiling.

On the 14th in the Morning after viewing the works, stones, &c &c and giving Lieut. Jeffers the necessary receipts, I took the command, and he his departure for Fort Pitt, leving four Men of his Detachments with me, one of them has since been Discharged.

I ordered a Sergeant, Corporal and twelve privates to mount the Guard of the Garrison, and a fatigue party to erect Scaffles and cut post holes in each of the Bastions, and assigned each man his allarm post, I also instructed the Sergeant of the Guard in case of an allarm to fly to the gate with his men to cover the retreat of the Inhabitants (who live on the outside) into the Fort, the Gate to be shut at Sundown and not opened again, until the Fogg dispers'd in the Morning which at this season is very heavy.

On the 24th at night a messenger arrived at the Garrison from the Cornplanter's who informed me that the Letters and Speeches which you sent by Stiffknee and Broken-twigg had arrived in good time that

¹ Now Elmira.

I had them read in Council at which there was Eighty Warriors present who were all anxious to join Genl. St. Clair, that they were afterwards sent to the Buffaloe Creek by two runners, who were desired to deliver them to Col. Pickron (who was then there) and to request him to have them read and explained, he concluded with saying that I might expect him with his warriors in about ten days.

In my answer in which I informed him that I was glad to find he had not forgot the promises he made when he was at Philadelphia, and the many obligations he lay under both to the United States and this State in particular that the hostile Indians would soon be made sensible of their error that they had not yet felt the power of Congress who had not raised more than their little finger against them, that if the got angry they would raise their whole hand and crush them at one blow.

On the 10th of July Instant Halftown arrived at the Garrison with letters for me and one for yourself from the Cornplanter, which I sent you by Express, he informed me that on his way down he met a Seneca who was just returning from the Lake who informed him that he saw a large Ship loaded with Indians sailing towards Priskiel¹ and that he thought their intention was to strike at the Garrison he concluded with saying that he was going to hunt in the Neighbourhood of the Fort and would come to my assistance in case I was attack'd, Newarrow who was present at the time told me the same.

I immediately ordered the People who live outside of the Works to mount a Guard near the houses and posted them in such a manner as renders it almost impossible for the Indians to surprise them, this Guard consists of nine men who went on after Dark and where dismissed at Sunrise. On the Night of the 12th about Eleven o'clock Mr. John Meads who stood at the corner of the Garden about one Hundred Yards from the Works was fired at by two Indians and returned the fire without doing any execution though they stood at about Thirty Yards off him. At the same instant another party came up and fired one gun and flash'd two at one of the Sentries on the Works who also returned the shott to no purpose my men where very allert in flying to the allarm posts and I believe would have made a good defence in case a party had made an attack, we lay on our arms all night, in the morning I sent a Sergeant and four men (two of them Senecas) to reconoiter, they returned about noon and reported that they saw a number of fresh Mockasin signs and

¹ Priskiel—Presque Isle.

trails leading in different directions from the Garrison one in particular which was large lead off towards the Sendusky path, their intentions in coming was in my opinion to take a prisoner if possible and to see what number of men where stationed at the Garrison.

On the 14th Mr. Lord a Trader arrived from the Cornplanter's Town who informed me that Brokentwigg had returned from the Treaty at Cyhoctoo alias Tyoge point where he had been sent by the Cornplanter with a Message to the Indians who reported that the Indians there with few exceptions where friendly and that a large number of People had arrived at the Lake and the . . . and that men are coming in Dayly these I suppose are troops raised or Militia ordered by the State New York to defend the Frontiers.

On the 16th Mr. Bond arrived with his detachment to relieve me, and on the 17th in the morning I marched and arrived at this post on the 20th at noon.

I have the honour to be
Sir
With the greatest respect
Your most Humb. Serv.

JACOB SLOUGH Capt.
2 Regt. Levies

The Hon Major Genl RICH^d BUTLER.

TO RICHARD BUTLER ESQR. THE GREAT GENERAL AT FORT PITT.

FORT FRANKLIN 3d August 6 o'Clock A. M.

Brother:—De Bartzh the french man has been among us & pretended to have great authority from you, but now we have found him out, he is wavering, and we think he will disturb our heads by & by—he is now with you, & we advise you to take care of him, & not let him come among us—as long as he is away from us, we & the thirteen fires can put our heads together & be as Brothers.

Brother, don't fail to take care of that fellow—keep him at Fort Pitt, for if he should take the rode that leads to Detroit he will do more mischief than he has done. Two of our young men has come up who

have told us how he has conducted and how he was used at Pitt, and what he is upon, for this reason we speak as above.

Here is our harts and our hands, and we shall take care of To-
wanoga (Jeffers) and see him safe to this place again.

We are your friend & Brother,

HALF X TOWN.

BROKEN X TWIG.

The Hon. Mjr.Genl. R. BUTLER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A BEECHER MEMORIAL

A London sculptor is at work on the model of a bronze bas-relief for a memorial to be placed on the old Beecher parsonage at Litchfield, Conn. It is to show medallion heads of Henry Ward Beecher and his sister, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves.

THE ORANGE CENTENNIAL

The heroic bronze statue of "The Dispatch Rider," by F. Edwin Elwell, was unveiled in June by the people of the Oranges (N. J.) as a climax to a week's centennial celebration of the founding of the township. The monument towers above the greensward and flower-decked graves of the Old Burying Ground, reveals the sturdy figure of a youth clad in the uniform of the Revolution, with a flowing cape hanging from his shoulders. He is booted and spurred, having just dismounted from his horse, and about to deliver his despatch, which he is holding in his outstretched hand, while he carries his three-cornered hat in the other.

The figure is spirited and full of action, and the face inspired by an alertness and manly vigor very refreshing to behold.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE MAGAZINE

The stock of 1905 numbers being very small, no separate numbers of that year will be sold hereafter, but the whole stock kept to fill yearly subscriptions.

FOR SALE

The Editor has for sale two sets of the *Magazine of American History*. One is bound in half-morocco, the other has seventeen volumes in same binding, the rest in clean numbers. Prices on application.

THE EXPERIENCES OF A LOYALIST PHYSICIAN OF
BOSTON IN 1775

AT the Centennial Period (1875) your President *—then Editor of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*—asked me to obtain from my father, at that time in his eightieth year, his remembrance of *his* father's connection with the battle of Bunker Hill. This I did, and I give it here as he gave it in the *Journal* of June 17, 1875.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—In compliance with your request that I should state what I know of the connection of my father and General Joseph Warren, M. D., with the battle of Bunker Hill, I have penned the following reminiscences derived from statements of my father, who, like Drs. Warren, Rand, and others of that time, had been a pupil of Dr. James Lloyd.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN JEFFRIES.

15 Chestnut Street, Boston, May 22, 1875.

Dr. Warren had sent to my father a message to meet him secretly at midnight at the end of the wharf of the Charlestown ferry. He accordingly met him shortly before the battle of Bunker Hill. Dr. Warren came over in a small boat, with muffled oars. His object was to induce my father to unite with the Continental Army as surgeon. This he urged upon him, offering him great inducements to accept. The reply was, "I thought, Warren, that you knew me better. I would not take office under anybody. My motto is 'Aut Cæsar aut nullus'!" Warren then said, "Don't be so quick, Jeffries, I have a general's commission in my pocket. We want you to be at the head of the medical service."

The offer, however, was declined.

My father was intimately acquainted with Dr. Warren, Mr. Paul Revere, and many other prominent gentlemen of that time, being a member of the same Masonic lodge with them (St. Andrew's), which held its meetings at the "Green Dragon."

On the morning of the 17th of June, as my father was reading a small newspaper in the parlor of the house where he resided,—being that of his uncle, the Hon. John Jeffries, opposite the King's Chapel, which was a rendezvous for all British

Delivered before the Bunker Hill Monument Association, Boston, 1906.

officers of high rank in the army or navy,—General Clinton entered and said, “ Dr. John, I am told that the rebels have thrown up some works last night on the hill over the water. I shall send troops over to drive them off. Would you like to go with me to see it? ”

He subsequently accompanied the General to Copp’s Hill, from which there was a full view of the incidents which transpired.

General Clinton was deeply interested and pleased with the beauty of the scene, the perfect regularity of the boats carrying the troops in their bright uniforms, the landing on the beach, the forming in line, and the march up the hill. As they approached the redoubt without any opposition, Clinton exclaimed, “ How’s this? They have vacated the fort. They have run away.”

Just then came the fatal fire which broke the ranks of the British soldiers and drove them back to the beach.

“ What’s that? What’s that? ” exclaimed General Clinton in great excitement. “ Ha, ha, they are forming again. Now we shall see.” The second attack being attended with similar results, General Clinton determined to go over immediately himself, which he did, taking my father with him. After the capture of the redoubt General Clinton came to my father as he was dressing a wounded officer on the beach, saying, “ It is reported that Dr. Warren is killed. Do you know him, Jeffries? ” “ Yes, sir, as well as I know you.” “ Come with me then.” After going a short distance, Clinton put his arm before him to stop him, and asked, “ How shall you know him? ” The answer was, “ He had one of the upper incisor teeth broken off obliquely in early life, and he has also lost a part of one thumb from a felon.”

As soon as they had passed through the fort the body was seen, and my father exclaimed, “ That is Warren.” He was lying on his face, with the head downward, where the hill was steep.

On examination a wound was found on the back of the head, made by a bullet. I also learned from my father that he was told by an English officer, who was the first to enter the redoubt with a file of soldiers, that when they had crossed the ground and had reached the opposite side, he saw Dr. Warren descending the hill quite near, and called out to him, “ Stop, Warren; for God’s sake, stop, or you are a dead man.” Warren turned his head and looked at him and then continued his descent. The officer then spoke hastily to his men, saying, “ Fire at his heels.”

He said he thought that they had intended to do so, but failed fatally, owing to the steepness of the hill. I think that officer was Colonel Carleton.

I, of course, had heard this often from my father, and got what sidelights I could by repeated interested questioning.

How was it that Dr. Jeffries was a loyalist, when his father, David Jeffries, had been the town treasurer of Boston some twenty-eight years, and a staunch deacon of the Old South Church? He was also a Freemason, a master in St. Andrew's Lodge, his insignia now being owned by his great-great-grandson. His intercourse with Warren, Revere, and other members must have been intimate, and rendered it hard for him not to espouse the cause they did. But when quite young he was adopted by his uncle, the Hon. John Jeffries, who had no children.

After graduating first in the Harvard class of 1763, he studied with Dr. James Lloyd, and going to England took his medical degree at the University of Aberdeen, working afterwards in the London hospitals under the best surgeons of the time, till he came home in 1769 and settled in practice in Boston town. He was very successful, and Admiral Montagu of the *Captain* appointed him assistant surgeon of the ship and in charge of the shore hospital in 1771, which he held till 1774, when the ship left this station. The house which his uncle left him was opposite the King's Chapel, on Tremont Street, and became a rendezvous for the British officers of the navy and army. It was thus but natural that he should remain loyal to the Crown, disbelieving the possibility of successful separation.

He always kept a diary. The portion up to the time of his leaving Boston with the British for Halifax has been lost. Hopes were entertained that it might have been left with his father's papers secreted under the floor of the garret in Faneuil Hall and found some years since. He had, however, quite separated from the town treasurer. He kept also a weather report daily up to the time of leaving for Boston, and again on his return in 1789, till his death in 1819. It says: "June 15, 1775, fair, clear, very cool, fresh NW. wind; June 16, ditto, not so cool; June 17, fair, very hot; June 18, ditto, some showers, thunder; June 19, ditto, showers, thunder."

Notwithstanding Dr. Jeffries' professional help to the sick and wounded of the rebel colonists as to the Crown officers and soldiers, he was proscribed and banished, leaving Boston for Halifax with his wife and children in the vessels crowded with refugees.

Nearly all who held office under the Crown, and others who had been long settled and successful in business, naturally adhered to the loyal cause. Of these, at least two thousand were either hung, murdered,

beaten, tarred and feathered, proscribed, or driven away, and all their property confiscated. The few left in possession were heavily fined and strictly watched by enemies. Was all this necessary? Was it best for the new young country to lose them? Was it not because war is hell, as General Sherman said?

The American rebels were of all classes; some truly patriotic against English misrule, others time-serving, still others ready to fight for plunder. Harvard Hall was burned the year Dr. Jeffries graduated, 1763, and rebuilt in 1764; the books subsequently confiscated from the Tories were placed in it.

The resistance to the mother country's absorbing all possible profit from commerce and manufactures was the cause and backbone of the revolution quite as much as "government without representation." The laws repressing trade and manufactures had been evaded and broken for a century, till their evasion in any way was by public opinion considered fair and even commendable.

Final resistance by mutiny spread and developed into open war on land and sea over the whole fringe of the English Atlantic people. Yet how long it was before separation, at first not even thought of, became the living issue, "when in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another."

The history of the lives of the proscribed and banished Loyalists is a very sad one. Some finally came back to be met with black looks if not black deeds. Others more fortunate, through their relatives and descendants, retired themselves in part. Seemingly, not so very many took the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government or the United States.

Dr. Jeffries did not become a citizen of the United States till 1819. In this he was assisted by a leading member of the bar, Mr. Rufus Greene Amory, whose daughter his son, Dr. Jeffries, Jr., afterwards married.

When Dr. Jeffries, as a refugee, left Boston for Halifax, he then was employed as surgeon in the hospitals, having old friends among the British officers. In 1779 he took his family to England and in London sought and obtained service under the Crown, going to Charleston and Savannah, but he had left his wife and children in London under the protection of his intimate friend, afterwards Count Rumford. His

wife's sudden death forced him back to England and out of the service, and he settled in very successful practice in London. He became greatly interested in the "airship experiments" and hired a seat with Blanchard in a trip from London down into Kent. His subsequent crossing the Channel December 7, 1785, is well known, an account of which, from his diary, I published* at the "Centennial" (1885). He was made a baron of the Cinque Ports by the town of Dover.

The American loyalists in London formed an organization, social and semi-political, for mutual assistance in obtaining pensions from the British Government for their losses in America.

Forced by his father's death and the necessity of his presence in Boston to look after family property, he came back with his second wife, a London lady, and his children. The Loyalist families of Amory, Von Geyer, Jaffrey, and Jeffries were connected by marriage, and most of those who left Boston from necessity returned. Their ancestors had been colonists a hundred years before the revolution.

What would be the reception a Loyalist might meet with gave rise naturally to grave thoughts. Dr. Jeffries, in his diary, tells of his in November, 1789. Several gentlemen met him as he landed at the Long Wharf. He was most heartily received, as he had been most sincerely respected. He was asked repeatedly to dine to meet his relatives and old friends on both sides, and soon was again engaged in practice which his former reputation brought. He was still a pensioned English subject, and was naturally called in consultation by Victoria's father, afterwards Duke of Kent, when he needed advice here in Boston, whilst awaiting opportunity to proceed to Halifax. The Duke was present at the wedding of Dr. Jeffries' friend, Mr. Rufus Greene Amory, to Nancy von Geyer, the daughter of Frederick William von Geyer, February 13, 1794. The aëronaut presented at the time his fellow Loyalist Van Geyer with a bottle of wine he had carried up into the clouds. The Duke claimed the right to first salute the bride and bridesmaids.

Your President, in asking me to briefly address you, desired my motto to be "Audi alteram partem." I have given you the experience of one Loyalist somewhat in detail, because I could do this from recorded facts and the history handed down in his family by word of mouth. Side-lights often afford the best historical evidence in illuminating the past.

It seems certain that the Loyalists held to their love of and respect

* See also the *Magazine of American History*, Vol.

for the mother country even after relinquishing their birthright. English habits, thoughts, and feelings were kept alive in many families, cropping out often in most interesting ways. How was it then that the descendants of so many of them became such intense Americans and a hatred of old England a matter of faith?

After peace was made and the colonies declared and admitted as separated, the English people never ceased in every way to imitate the former colonists and belittle Americans of every state in life.

This perhaps was natural, as their markets had been interfered with and their commerce greatly restricted. English pride had received a severe blow, much resented.

Hence in 1812 war became inevitable, and the American was turned into a bitter enemy of the Englishman—this to such an extent that many old Loyalists were made very uncomfortable, to say the least, and some retired for a time from the cities into the country till peace was again proclaimed.

The war of 1812 intensified Americanism. Rank and titles were more hated, the badge of office or of service more distrusted. All this helped to make Loyalists' descendants staunch Americans.

Growing up with his father, and under his guidance and teaching, I often wondered how it was that *my* father was such an ardent American, thoroughly against "John Bull." But he was of the Harvard class of 1815, and in his college years war feeling was intensified by patriotic enthusiasm. No doubt it affected his friend and classmate, Jared Sparks, in his subsequent life and defence of Washington, as also another, Dr. John S. Palfrey, for his history of New England.

My father commanded the Harvard-Washington Corps. The family still have his sword. The standard, or what still remains of the flag, is preserved under the glass in the Porcellian Club Rooms at Cambridge, as also a colored copy of both sides of the original. The staff hung over the dining-table.

He once marched his command to Charlestown to salute Commodore Bainbridge in honor of his sea-fights in the *Constitution*. The family have often laughed over an unexpected and an untoward incident of the trip. The officer who went in to report to the Commodore that the command had come over to salute him was met by the exclamation

from Bainbridge, "Damn the Harvard-Washington Corps." However, he received them politely and they saluted in due form with a volley from their muskets. One unfortunate member of the corps fired too soon, to his utmost chagrin. Corps feeling prevented him being exposed to the commander, and it was many years after before he knew. One of my sisters went to a town in Massachusetts to visit a young lady friend. Her father, the host, inquired if she was the daughter of Dr. John Jeffries of Boston. She replied, Yes, and he then asked if he commanded the Harvard-Washington Corps in Cambridge and marched it to Charlestown to salute Commodore Bainbridge. On her replying, "Oh, yes, he has often told us of it, and the salute being spoiled by one musket being fired too soon," the host asked, "Did he ever know who the culprit was?" "No, he never could find out." "Well," said the old gentleman, "I am the man." The daughter's report to her father, later, cleared up the mystery of the past.

I have learned to understand why a Loyalist's son could become so strong an American, and I realize how this has been handed down to me. I have a pride in the two silver medals I hold, received by my uncle, Lieutenant William H. Freeman, United States Marine Corps, by act of Congress, for fighting in the *Constitution* under Commodores Bainbridge and Stewart against the *Java* and the *Cyane* and *Levant*. Certainly the treatment we of the United States have received at the hands of our former mother country since our war with her has not tended to mollify a natural historic antipathy, however pleasant individual contact may now and then have been.

Still, we all have a liking and a respect for England, a hereditary feeling of kinship which may be of value to our mother country in time of need. I well remember what a German naval officer once said to me of his own sensations, as they so entirely agreed with mine. We met under peculiar circumstances when perfect freedom of interchange of thought was possible. In 1859 I left Vienna during the Franco-Austrian war, determined, if possible, to go down through Italy to Naples and see all I could, as I never expected to have another opportunity. In Naples, during the battles of Solferino and Magenta, there was naturally great public excitement. As an American, with an American fleet in the harbor and a passport *viséd* for "everywhere," I felt safe enough, and did not leave, as did every foreigner who could get away. I finally took passage on a big steamer for Marseilles with no cargo and hardly

a dozen passengers, as all travellers had fled. On board were two middle-aged German ladies who were most politely treated. There was also an officer of the Russian navy, a thoroughly educated gentleman. He told me that he had been sent by his government to live on board the English fleet as a guest to observe what he could bring home to the fatherland. We had much pleasant interchange of ideas and I asked him what he had picked up to carry home which was specially new. He replied, "First, a good square English breakfast." This had made a decided impression on him, versus the two rolls and a small cup of coffee of German life.

We talked over the nations then at war, and naturally England also. He then expressed his own personal feeling after much contact with French and English: "Every Frenchman I meet I love, but I hate the whole nation; every Englishman I meet I hate, but I love the whole nation."

Is this not very much our feeling if we analyze it carefully? It is not what we wish, but it is what has been forced upon us by John Bull's mistaken treatment of us in the past and his unfortunate continuance of it to this day. But we have now forced the "respect" of the English people from whatever cause that respect arises, and we are rapidly teaching them to appreciate us of the same blood. It is true we are of a kindred people, but kinsmen do not always "get on" with each other, especially if property is concerned.

Those of us of English origin can, perhaps, never quite free ourselves from an interest in and love of country and country life of the motherland. I always read eagerly the many published lives and diaries of the last century in England. I sometimes find myself sympathizing with the actors as if I had known them personally, these ladies and gentlemen who, to me, so resemble those I knew and associated with in the fifties of this century in Boston town, before the slavery rebellion.

B. JOY JEFFRIES, M. D.

BOSTON.

THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

CHAPTER XXVIII

A REIGNING BELLE

THIS combustible gentleman fell in love with Catalina at first sight—and never man had a better excuse; for she was now in the ripe prime of womanhood, and lovely as the happiest creations of painting and poetry. Her eyes, her lips, her cheeks, her nose, her forehead and her chin were all cast in the happy mould of symmetry; and the combination produced an expression of sensibility, intellect, and virtue that struck everyone at first sight. Her fair white neck, her harmonious, graceful shoulders, the confines of that region on which the eye and the imagination delight to linger as the chosen spot where grace and beauty revel as on a bed of snow; the little finished telltale foot, and the graceful lines that gave the outline of her touching, full, round figure, all and each of them bore silent testimony to the perfection of the hidden glories of the inner temple, sacred to one alone.

That Colonel Gilfillan should fall headlong in love at the first sight of such an object, was just as natural, not to say inevitable, as the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder on the application of a firebrand. I will not affirm that there was a spark of interest mingled with his fires, but it may be safely laid down as a maxim founded in human nature, that the most disinterested lover has no very great objection to his mistress possessing a competent estate. Gilfillan made downright love to Catalina the tenth time he saw her; and at the eleventh interview offered her his hand and fortune, at the same time laying at her feet his sword, in which he confessed the latter entirely consisted. He did this, however, in a style so wild and extravagant, and with so odd a mixture of humor and pathos, jest and earnest, that the young lady laughed at it as a rhodomontade. She gradually became accustomed to his extravagance, and amused with his good-humored eccentricities. In the meantime she mixed continually in the winter gayeties, and became the reigning belle of the season.

Now it was that the spirit moved Sir Thicknesse Throgmorton to gather himself and honor Catalina with his notice. It will ever be found that the dullest fellows are seen hovering about the most brilliant objects, just as the bugs and moths, and other imps of the night hie them to

bask in the splendors of the lighted candle. Besides this general propensity, Sir Thicknesse was impelled by another and more particular incitement. He was especially envious of Gilfillan, who was perpetually throwing his accomplishments into the shade, and whose spirit, brilliancy and good-nature made the leaden dullness and stultified pride of the other appear still more ungracious.

The first demonstration Sir Thicknesse gave of his devotion to our heroine was one night actually stooping to pick up her fan, at a party at his puissant excellency the governor's. Whereupon Madam Van Borsum, Madam Van Dam, Madam Twentyman and twenty other madams who had marriageable daughters were thrown into trepidation. What rendered this act of devotion the more conspicuous, such was the rigidity of Sir Thicknesse's habits and costume, that he was obliged to go down on one knee in order to its performance. The young ladies tittered behind their fans, and Gilfillan swore it put him in mind of a wooden god offering incense to a beautiful young priestess, which sounded somewhat like a bull. When Sir Thicknesse had performed this successful feat of gallantry, he strutted away and passed the rest of the evening in a corner in dignified indifference, justly conceiving he had done enough for on night.

There was a certain feeling of self-complacency which was vastly conciliated by having his name connected with that of the reigning belle of the day, in the whispers of the young ladies and the tittle-tattle of their mothers. With all his absurd affectation of proud indifference, his vanity was highly excited by the association. Like my Lord Byron, he was always pretending the most sovereign indifference and contempt for the world and its opinions, while at the same time his very soul smarted under its censure or neglect. Of all the affectations of vanity, that of indifference to the opinions of the world is the most inconsistent with the feelings and actions of men, and the most easily detected by its inconsistencies. Sir Thicknesse followed up his first overt act of picking up the fan by other demonstrations still more significant, until it came to pass that Madam Van Borsum, Madam Van Dam, Madam Twentyman and the rest came to a unanimous decision that it was all over with their daughters, and that Catalina would, in good time, become Lady Throgmorton. Not one of them conceived it possible she could be so mad as to refuse a baronet, a governor's aid-de-camp, and a man actually born in Old England. It is unnecessary to say that these worthy madams from this time took a decided distaste to our heroine, and treated her with extraordinary marks of attention.

Mrs. Aubineau soon, with the quick instinct of a chaperon having a young lady to establish, perceived the important conquests Catalina had achieved in so short a time. She accordingly forthwith fell to balancing accounts between the two suitors, for as to honest Sybrandt, she looked upon that affair as a mere country arrangement, made to be broken the first convenient opportunity. Engagements made in the country are never binding in town, all the world over. If Catalina, quoth Madam Aubineau in her secret cogitations, marries Gilfillan she will be a countess in time, but then, it's only an Irish title and there is no estate to it, I know. If she marries Sir Thicknesse, she will be a lady at once, wife to an English baronet—and lady is lady all the world over. Besides, he has an estate, and though it is out at the elbows, a little of Catalina's fortune will make it whole again. The inevitable conclusion of Madam Aubineau was to encourage Sir Thicknesse, and discourage his rival.

But Gilfillan was an Irishman, and, as he affirmed, he could always tell the difference between the false and true Milesian by the latter never being discouraged. "By my soul," would he say, "there's no such word in the old Irish tongue—it's an English importation." To discourage such a man was out of the question. If Madam Aubineau looked coolly towards him, or failed in any of the customary attentions, he rallied her with such a triumphant good humor, or received her slights with such imperturbable negligence that the good lady sometimes laughed herself friends with him, or sat down in despair at the perfect impotence of her scheme of discouragement.

CHAPTER XXIX

MANEUVERING

THE busiest and at the same time the most injudicious of all schemers is a good lady overanxious to make a match for her daughter, or a young spinster under her protection. Madam Aubineau did nothing but give parties at night, and her worthy husband had no rest until he gave parties by day, at which Sir Thicknesse was always seated next to Catalina at dinner, where he never failed to observe upon the weather and drink a glass of wine with her. There is no telling what these attentions might have achieved in time, had not the genius of Gilfillan crossed the path of Sir Thicknesse. That enterprising Milesian, with singular skill and intrepidity, never omitted to gain a seat on the other side of our heroine, where his humor, vivacity and gallantry

seldom failed to obscure the solemn, dignified stupidity of his rival and throw him into utter oblivion. It was observed at these merrymakings that Sir Thicknesse ate himself into still greater stupidity, while Gilfillan drank himself into such an effervescence of spirits that Catalina became actually afraid of him. The good matron, Madam Aubineau, accordingly soon found out that dinner parties are the worst places in the world for matchmaking, at least with Englishmen and Irishmen.

Madam Aubineau accordingly essayed to circumvent Sir Thicknesse by enthralling him in the seductions of evening parties. Catalina had a fine voice, and all the skill which could be attained in those degenerate days, when all or nearly all the music of our Western world was warbled in woods and fields, when not a single lady in all the land had a harp whereon to commit murder, and when there were but three old phthisicky spinets within the bills of mortality. Unfortunately for our heroine one of these appertained to Madam Aubineau's mansion, and night after night was poor Catalina condemned to torture this impracticable machine into something like groans and shrieks of harmony. Catalina was tired to death; and so was all the company. But everybody said "charming" and cried "what a pretty tune" at the end of every execution. Sir Thicknesse beat time out of time, till he fell into a brown study or nap, no one could tell which. Still worse than this; here, too, Gilfillan crossed the milky way of Sir Thicknesse's fortunes. His voice was so touching and pathetic that it is said he could bring tears into your eyes by merely warbling an Irish howl; and when he threw his whole ardent soul into an old Irish melody, such as "Eileen Aroon," it is recorded that the hardest hearts were softened, and even tea parties became silent. He taught Catalina some of these fine old Doric airs, and as they warbled them together their very beings seemed for the time cemented in one rich harmony; and then did the fortunes of Sir Thicknesse kick the beam higher than ever.

Madam Aubineau saw that the gods of eating and of music were both equally adverse to her desires. She therefore varied her plan once more, and introduced dancing at her parties. She summoned the Orpheus and Orion of the day, to wit, Curaçao Dick, and Will, alias Ticklepitcher; than whom two greater fiddlers never drew bow in this Western hemisphere. Not Billy, the fiddler of immortal memory, nor Bennett nor any of those who now preside over the midnight, or rather morning, revels of the youthful fair of our city, who so many of them thus dance themselves into the other world—not one of these nor all together could match the matchless skill of Curaçao Dick, and Will, alias Tickle-

pitcher. They lived in harmony, and died in harmony (they were both executed at the same time for participation in the famous Negro Plot).

But alack and alas for Madam Aubineau; here, too, the fates were hostile, and the genius of old Ireland triumphed over that of old England. Gilfillan danced like the feathered Mercury and Sir Thicknesse like a bear. His face was of lead and his body of something still heavier. As to his legs, no one could ever invent a comparison, or discover a material adequate to giving a just idea of their specific gravity. Gilfillan came the nearest when he affirmed "they put him in mind of two old rusty twenty-four-pounders, planted half-way in the ground at the opposite corners of a street." Besides, Sir Thicknesse was so long in gathering himself together and crossing the room to ask Catalina to dance, that Gilfillan, who delighted to thwart his rival, was always beforehand with him and danced with her twice as often, to the great discomfiture of Madam Aubineau.

The good lady then resorted to morning visits and *tête-à-têtes*. She invited Sir Thicknesse, under various pretenses, to call, and managed to leave Catalina alone with him. This was worse than all. Sir Thicknesse was too stupid for *tête-à-tête* conversation. People ascribed his silence to pride, but, take my word for it, it was sheer dullness—the want of something to say. This is what makes so many people affect pride. He would sit for hours on the sofa rapping his military boot with a rattan, and looking Catalina full in the face, like a leaden statue. Once, we must do him the justice to say—once he asked the young lady if she had been at the review. She answered in the negative, at which Sir Thicknesse, who had figured on the occasion in a newly-imported suit of regimentals, was so grievously affronted that he pouted all the rest of the morning, and would not condescend to stare her out of countenance.

These gratifying visits were also frequently broken in upon by Gilfillan, who did not mind any of the usual polite denials which shrewdly indicate that one's company is not quite welcome. The truth is, he seldom gave himself the trouble to inquire who was at home, but whistled or hummed himself into the parlor without ceremony. If he found anyone there, it was well; if not, he stayed until someone came, or if he grew tired whistled himself out again. His company was always a relief to our heroine from the deadly monotony of Sir Thicknesse's silence, and of course she received him with smiles, which almost went to the imperturbable heart of his rival, who always slapped his boot the harder, and looked if possible still more glum on these occasions.

At this time Catalina had no idea of any serious attentions on the part of the two gentlemen. She did not feel sufficiently interested in either to make her very clear-sighted on the occasion; and indeed the stupidity of the one and the wild rhodomontade of the other made their intentions very obscure as well as questionable. But young ladies are sure to be let into these secrets by the kind interest which everybody takes in affairs with which they have no concern. I will not deny that she flirted a little with one of her admirers, and what was still more suspicious, laughed at the other; but certain it is she had no idea of anything serious in the business until she began to be congratulated on all hands at the important conquests she had made. Nay, some of the old ladies affected to ask her very significantly "when *it* was to be—whether the old folks had given their consent, and especially how Master Sybrandt Westbrook was, and whether he did not mean to spend part of the winter in town."

CHAPTER XXX

IN WHICH THE READER WILL BE PUZZLED TO DISCOVER WHETHER THE GRAY MARE IS THE BETTER HORSE OR NOT

OUR heroine was somewhat startled at these inquiries. Though beautiful as an angel, still she was mortal. The dissipations of a city life, the novelty of everything around her and more especially the incense everywhere administered to the sly lurking vanity which nestles somewhere in every human heart, had by degrees somewhat obscured the memory of Sybrandt in her bosom. She frequently thought of him with affectionate gratitude, but this thought was so often interrupted by visitors, engagements and all the attractions of a life of pleasure, that by degrees it ceased to be the governing principle of her actions; and various little coquetries marked the effect of absence as well as the growth of worldly passions. During the winter season there was little intercourse between New York and Albany, and consequently the letters that were interchanged between her and Sybrandt were few and far between. It must be confessed, too, that when opportunities did occur, Catalina sometimes had so many engagements on her hands that she did not always avail herself of them.

"My dear," said Mr. Aubineau one day that he had been asked by Mrs. Twentyman when Catalina was to be married—"my dear, have you forgotten that your friend Miss Vancour is engaged to be married to her cousin?"

"No, my dear," replied she; "I've not forgot it. I've not lost my memory yet, thank heaven."

"Well, then, my dear, do you wish to make a fool of Sir Thicknesse Throgmorton?"

"No, my dear, I don't wish to make a fool of Sir Thicknesse Throgmorton."

"Then perhaps you wish to make a fool of Catalina?"

"I don't understand you, my dear."

"Why, my dear, it seems to me that knowing as you do the engagement of this young lady, the encouragement you give Sir Thicknesse in his attentions to her, when it is obvious that they must be vain, is very well calculated to make a fool of him, in the common acceptation of the term."

"Pooh! Mr. Aubineau, what is an engagement between two people without experience in the world, who fall in love in the country because they don't know what to do with themselves?"

"Why, Mrs. Aubineau, I should think an engagement made in the country exactly as binding as if it were made in the city."

"Pshaw! Mr. Aubineau, you talk nonsense. To miss such an establishment, and a title to boot! What do you say to that?"

"Why, I say that neither a title nor an establishment furnish sufficient apology for acting dishonorably."

"Lord! Mr. Aubineau, how you talk."

"This young lady is placed under our guardianship by her parents, who have sanctioned her engagement with her cousin; and we are in some measure responsible for her conduct. What will her father say?"

"Pooh! What signifies what he says?"

"And her mother?"

"Why, she'll say we have done right to break off this foolish country engagement, and thank us for making her the mother of a lady."

"I doubt it."

"If she don't, she is a most unnatural mother. Why, Madam Van Borsum, and Madam Van Dam, and Madam Twentyman and all the other madams that have marriageable daughters, are ready to die of envy."

"Well, let them die, if they will."

"Let them die?—why you inhuman man, are you not ashamed of yourself?—the poor souls!"

"But this is nothing to the purpose. It is not what others may think or say, but what we ought to do, that I wish to consult you about."

"Well, my dear, I am willing to be consulted as much as you please; but I tell you beforehand all you can say will not alter my opinions or my conduct, my dear."

"Oh, if that is the case, madam, I shall take my own course. I

shall to-day write to invite Sybrandt Westbrook to come down and spend the rest of the winter with us. Let him take care of his own interests, since you won't."

"If you do, I tell you once for all, my dear, I won't be civil to him."

"Then I shall be particularly civil."

"You will?"

"Yes."

A monosyllable, however short, is always significant of cool determination, and it made Mrs. Aubineau start.

"There's no room for him in the house," said she, after a pause of consideration whether it was time to be angry.

"I shall have a bed made for him in my library."

"There's no room for a bed without moving the bookcases."

"Then I shall remove the bookcases."

"You will?"

"Yes."

Another diabolical monosyllable. What woman in the shape of a wife could bear it?

"I'll tell you what, my dear——"

"You need not tell me anything, my dear. I recollect you were pleased to observe, just now, nothing I could say would alter your opinions or your conduct. I am just in the same humor. There is a government messenger going to Albany to-morrow—I shall write by him." So saying, Mr. Aubineau took his hat, and walked very deliberately to the Perpetual Club, an ancient and honorable institution which flourished at that time in the good city of New York, one of the fundamental principles of which was that there should always be a quorum of members present day and night.

"What an obstinate mule!" exclaimed Mrs. Aubineau, when he was out of hearing. "A man that won't listen to reason is as bad—as bad—as bad——" as a woman that won't listen to reason, whispered conscience. Mrs. Aubineau was upon the whole a reasonable woman, and listened to her monitor until she thought better of the matter. She determined to be uncommonly civil to Sybrandt if he came, and to make herself amends by counteracting his interests to the utmost of her power. That evening Mr. Aubineau informed Catalina he had written to invite Sybrandt. The news caused a rush of blood from her heart to her face; but whether it was a flush of pleasure, surprise or apprehension I cannot say. Whatever were her feelings, she uttered not a word, and the secret remained buried in her bosom.

JAMES K. PAULDING.

(To be continued)

INDEX TO VOLUME V

JANUARY-JUNE 1907

Abbott, Jacob, Memorial to (H. O. Ladd)	90	Cliff-Dwellers, Relic of the.....	230
Adams, John Q.....	316	Clinton, George	42
Adamson —	333	Clinton, James	44
Addison, Rev.	334	Clinton, George and James, letters of Washington to	40, 63, 134, 206
<i>Alabama</i> Claims Arbitration, An Incident of the (R. E. Prime).....	125	Coles, Edward	314
Alexander, J. McKnitt	326	Commodore Perry's officers.....	170
Beauchamp, W. M., The Moravians at Onondaga	275	Communications, J. C. Eno and S. S. Rider	231
Berry, William, of 1638 (George W. Chamberlain)	92	Conway	334
Bingham, Major	335	Craig	333, 334
Blackburn, Captain	334	Crawford, Gov. (Bermuda)	334
Book Reviews:		Cunningham, Ann Pamela.....	336
Bibliography of Publications relating to Quebec and New France.....	245	Custis, George W.	334
Chunda	123	Custis, Nelly	333
Original Narratives of Early American History	245	Dartmouth College in 1775	109
History of Boothbay, etc., Maine....	247	Drake, Joseph Rodman, poem by.....	274
Report on the Iowa Public Archives..	123	Dutchman's Fireside (James K. Paulding).....	58, 113, 182, 236, 304, 365
The Cradle of the Republic.....	246	Earthquakes in New England	51
The Spirit of Democracy	123	Eddy, George W.	50
Brant, Joseph	347 <i>et seq.</i>	Elliot	333
British Archives, Extracts from (E. F. McPike)	81	Emmet, Dr. Thomas Addis	36
Broken Twig (Indian)	350 <i>et seq.</i>	Eno, J. C.	232
Brown, Miss	334	Everett, Edward	337-8
Burton, C. M.....	344	Experiences of a Loyalist Physician of Boston in 1775 (Jeffries)	357
Butler, General Richard.....	344 <i>et seq.</i>	Extra Numbers of the Magazine	299
Cartwright, Isaac	50	"F. G. M.," Last Blazes on the Oregon Trail	390
Cecil, Samuel	50	"F. G. W.," Sixty Years Ago.....	101
Chamberlain, George W., William Berry	92	Fairfax, Mrs.	334
Chase, A. C., Pushmataha	166	Fitzgerald, Colonel John	333
Chase, Salmon P.	312	Fitzhugh	333-4
Chetlain, Augustus L., Reminiscences of General Grant	155, 198	Flint, Timothy	311
Clark, Abraham, letter to Dayton.....	108	Francis, Tench	335
Clarmont, Monsieur	334	Freeman (N. H.)	333
		Frémont Campaign, Reminiscences of the (E. P. Powell)	223

- Fruition of the Ordinance of 1787
(Wager Swayne)187, 249, 311
- Gham (Sweden) 334
- Gibbs 333
- Glass, Francis, Latin Life of Washington 285
- Glen Iris (E. H. Hall) 74
- Glen Iris (poem), (J. N. Johnston)... 80
- Grant, General U. S., Reminiscences of
(A. L. Chetlain)155, 198
- Half-Town (Indians)350 *et seq.*
- Hall, Edward H., Battle of Harlem
Heights again 27
- Hancock, John, letter to Washington .. 107
- Harlem Heights, Battle of, again (R. P.
Bolton, E. H. Hall, T. A. Emmet) .. 27
- Harrison 334
- Harvard-Washington Corps 363
- Heath (Heth), Colonel William 333
- Hellman, George S. 41
- Henderson, John B. 317
- Henkels, Stan. V., Washington's Social
Life 333
- History of Lotteries in New York (A. F.
Ross)94, 143, 217, 259, 319
- Hoar, George F. 313
- Hodget 333
- Holden, Edgar, *The Sassacus* and the
Albemarle 267
- Hopkins, John 333
- Hoyt, William H. 326
- ILLUSTRATION:
- The *Kearsarge-Alabama* Battle...January
Indian Torture-Post in Indiana (I.
Cartwright, G. W. Eddy, S. Cecil).. 50
- Iowa Public Archives, Story of the .. 173
- Jacob Abbott Memorial (H. O. Ladd) 90
- Jackson, Major 335
- Jeffers, Ensign J.344 *et seq.*
- Jeffries, John and B. Joy, Experiences
of a Loyalist Physician in Boston in
1775 357
- Jenifer 334
- Johnston, James N., Glen Iris (poem) 80
- Kearsarge-Alabama* Battle (Joseph A.
Smith) 1
- Keith, Colonel Israel, letter of..... 300
- Kingery, Hugh M., Old Latin Life of
Washington 285
- Ladd, Horatio O., Jacob Abbott Me-
morial 90
- Ladd — 333
- Latin Life of Washington (H. M.
Kingery) 285
- Law, Thomas, letter of Washington to 104
- Law, Thomas (?)334 *et seq.*
- Lear, Tobias332 *et seq.*
- Lee, Henry333 *et seq.*
- LeGuin, Monsieur 334
- LETTERS:
- Abraham Clark 108
- Col. Israel Keith 300
- Colonel Thomas Crane 178
- Dr. David Ramsay 179
- Dr. William Eustis 179
- General Joseph Reed 175
- Gen. Philip H. Sheridan 302
- General William Heath 178
- J. Fenimore Cooper 179
- John Hancock 107
- Lieut. Com. E. K. Owen..... 178
- Lieut. Com. George U. Morris 175
- Mrs. James Russell Lowell 180
- Washington40, 63, 104, 106, 134, 206
- Lewis, Fielding 333
- Lewis, Rev. (Conn.) 334
- Lotteries in New York, History of (A.
F. Ross)94, 143, 217, 259, 319
- Lowell, Maria (Mrs. James Russell),
letter of 180
- Loyalist Physician of Boston in 1775,
Experiences of a, (Jeffries)..... 357
- McClanahan 334
- McHenry, Dr. James 334
- McPike, Eugene F., Extracts from
British Archives 81
- Marshall 334
- Marshall, General 334
- Mason, Thomson 334
- Mead, David344 *et seq.*
- Mecklenburg Declaration again, The
(H. A. Scamp) 326
- Memory of St. Clair's Defeat, A..... 344
- Meredith, Samuel 335
- Mifflin, Thomas 335
- MINOR TOPICS:
- A Relic of the Cliff-Dwellers 230
- Old Ironsides*, Awakening of 295
- Camels on the Plains 228
- Commodore Perry's officers 170
- Lincoln and Stephens..... 171

- Proposed Extra Numbers of the
MAGAZINE 299
- Romsey and the Danish Pirates 297
- The awakening of *Old Ironsides* .. 295
- The Story of the Iowa Public
Archives 173
- Moravians at Onondaga, The (W. M.
Beauchamp) 275
- Morris, Colonel 334
- Morris, — 335
- New York Historical Society, 1906 110
- NOTES AND QUERIES:
- Antelopes for the Desert 181
- Beavers in Eastern Connecticut..... 181
- Beecher Memorial at Litchfield 356
- Landmark Gone, A 235
- Paris Political Squib, A, 1782 181
- Semmes of the *Alabama* 235
- The Orange Centennial 356
- Ode on the Death of Washington 84
- Ordinance of 1787, Fruition of the
(Swayne) 187, 249, 311
- Oregon Trail, Last Blazes on the ("F.
G. M.") 290
- ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS 104, 178, 300
- POEMS:
- Before the Battle of New Orleans .. 274
- Glen Iris 80
- New England's Annoyances 153
- Potts, — 334
- Prime, Ralph E., An Incident of the
Alabama Claims Arbitration 125
- Pryor, — 341
- Puritans and the Indian Lands, The
(J. C. Eno, S. S. Rider) 231
- Pushmataha, Choctaw Warrior (A. C.
Chase) 166
- Ramsay, — 334
- Ramsay, Dr. David, letter 179
- Randolph, John 312
- Randolph, Mrs. Beverly 334
- Rawle 335
- Read, Colonel 106
- Reed, Major 335
- Reminiscences of the Frémont Campaign
(E. P. Powell) 223
- Rider, S. S. 231
- Rogers (Baltimore) 334
- Ross, A. Franklin, History of Lotteries
in New York 94, 143, 217, 259, 319
- St. Clair, General Arthur 353
- St. Clair's Defeat, A Memory of 344
- Sassacus* and the *Albemarle* (Holden). 267
- Scamp, H. A., The Mecklenburg Decla-
ration again 326
- Simms, Colonel 334
- Sixty Years Ago ("F. G. W.") 101
- Slough, Jacob 347 *et seq.*
- Smith, Joseph A., The *Kearsarge-Ala-
bama* Battle 1
- Spotswood, Alexander 333
- Spotswood, Captain John 335
- Stuart, Dr. David 333
- Swayne, Wager, The Fruition of the
Ordinance of 1787 187, 249, 311
- Taylor, — 333
- Teiot, Monsieur 333
- Walker, Timothy 311, 313
- Walton, Lieut. (U. S. N.) 333
- Washington, Bushrod 333 *et seq.*
- Washington, George, Latin Life of
(Kingery) 285
- Washington, George, Letters of, 40, 63,
104, 106, 134, 206.
- Washington, Geo., Ode on the Death of 89
- Washington's Social Life (Henkels)... 332
- Washington, John A. 336 *et seq.*
- Washington, Lawrence (I)..... 333
- Washington, Lawrence (II) 333
- Washington, Mrs. Lawrence 333
- Webster, Daniel 313
- White, Bishop William 335
- Willing, — 335
- Wilson, William 334
- Winslow, John A. 11 *et seq.*

VOL V

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